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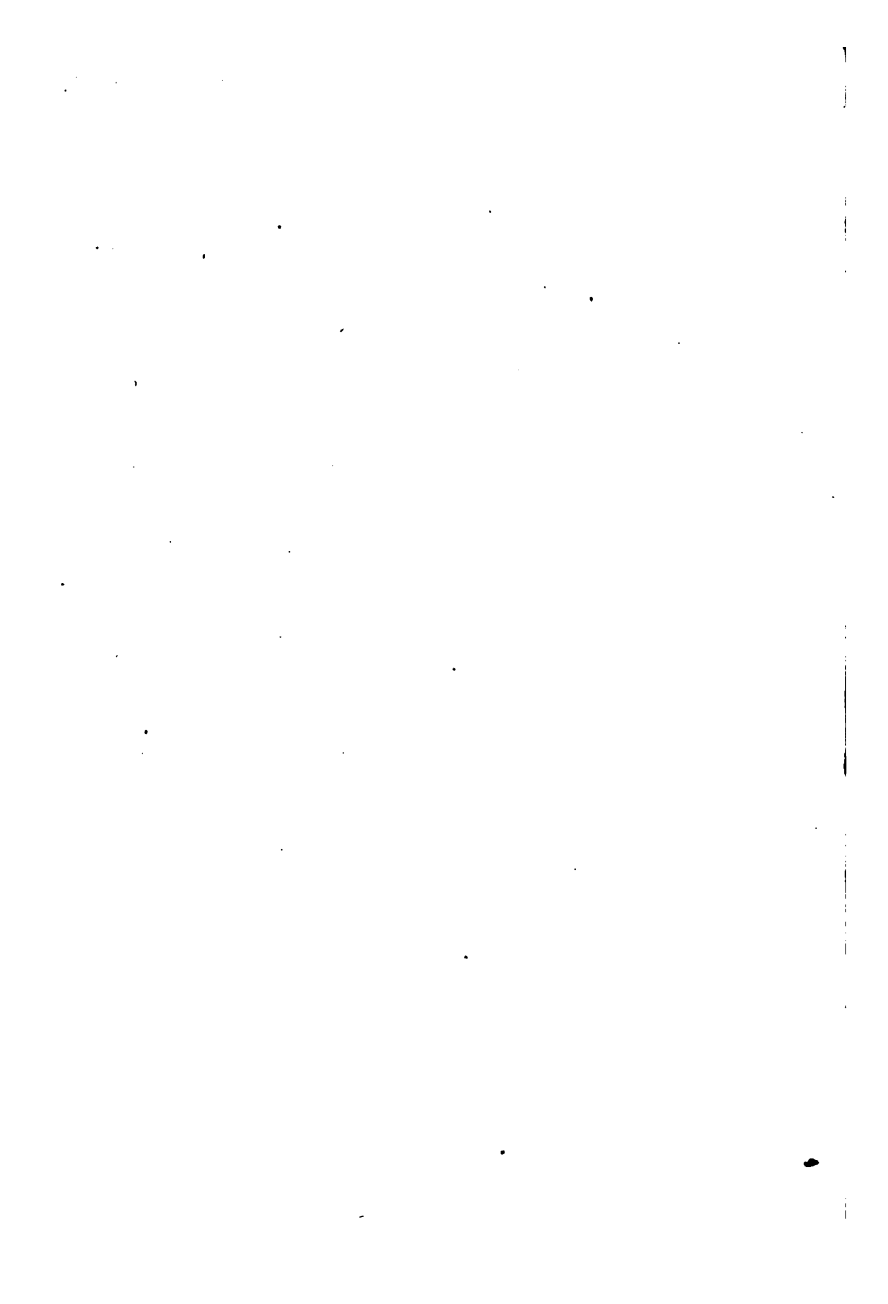
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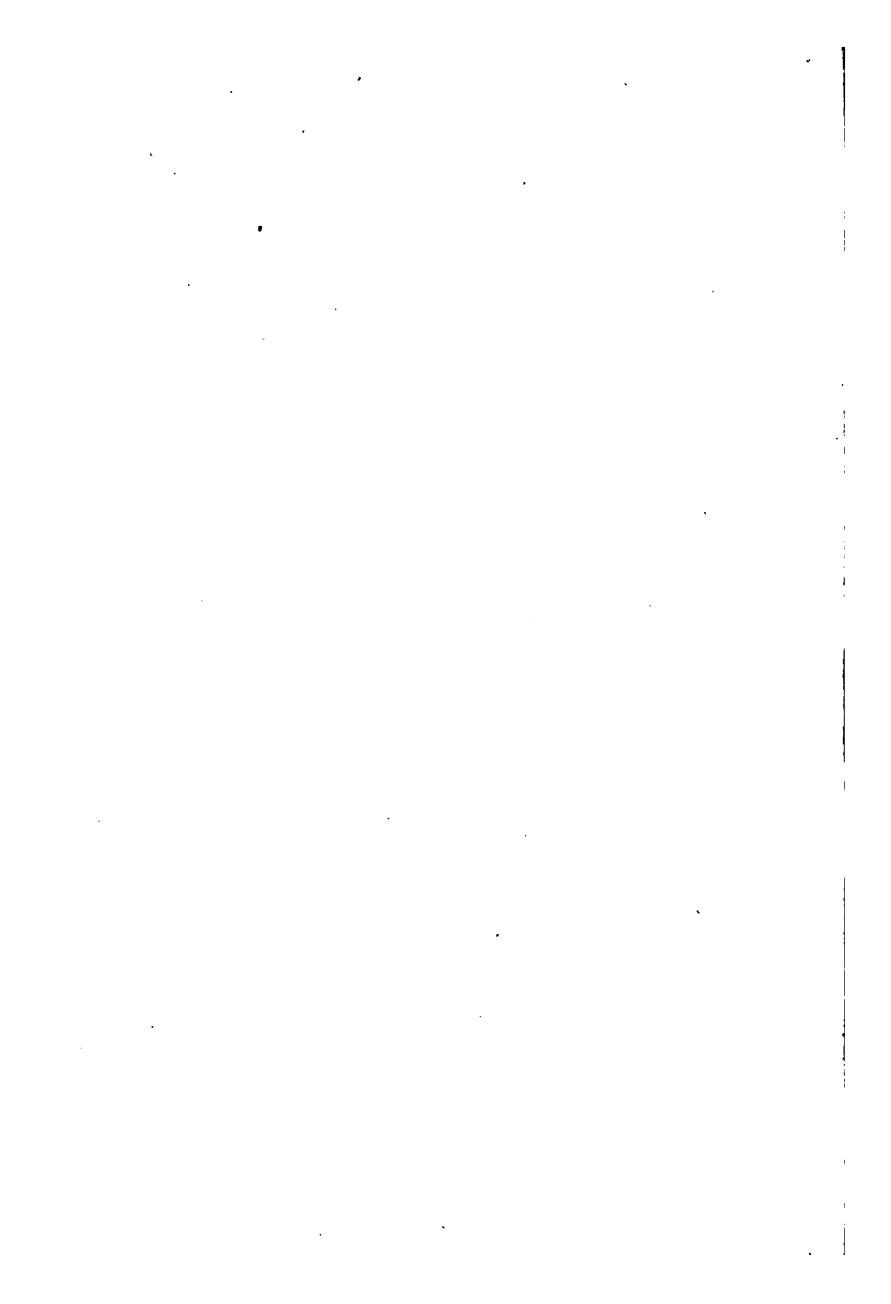
Classical Department

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# AESCHYLUS

## AGAMEMNON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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THIRD EDITION, REVISED

PART I.—INTRODUCTION AND TEXT

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## PREFACE.

THE difficulty of editing Aeschylus' Agamemnon for schools is due to the fact that the play is in many ways too hard for school-boys, though it will always continue, and rightly continue, to be read at school for the sake of its incomparable grandeur and beauty. For example, much of the difficulty of the Agamemnon is owing to the corruptness of the MSS.; and while it is impossible in editing it to put aside discussion of the text, it is not desirable with beginners to enter much into such points, nor even with more advanced students, except to a limited extent. At the same time the better boys in the Upper Form of a public school ought to be taught the elements of text criticism;—and the Agamemnon is not at all a bad play for the purpose.

Under these circumstances I have thought it best to give all the important MS. variations in the text, and to give reasons in the notes for the readings adopted. The teacher can use this as much or as little as he likes.

The mass of literature on the Agamemnon is so great that it is almost impossible to mention all one's obligations. The list of editors and emendators consulted or quoted is given at page xxi; but I may add that I have studied, more fully than the rest, the editions of Dindorf, Paley, Schneidewin, Enger, Hermann, and Kennedy: and that to all I owe much, especially to Enger for interpretation, and Hermann for text. Besides these I have tried to master the main contributions of Schütz, Weil, Wellauer, Klausen, Hartung, Karsten, Schömann, and Madvig. Hartung, Karsten, and Schömann are all very ingenious and suggestive, especially Hartung: and all too much given to emendation. Madvig, though I believe he has got the right reading in one hard passage by a brilliant conjecture (1228), is not usually happy in his suggestions in this play.

I also owe not a little to suggestions in casual papers; amongst which I must mention Zeyss on the religious ideas of Aeschylus, Göttingen 1829, Professor Campbell's paper in the American Journal of Philology, Dec. 1880, and Pro-

fessor Goodwin's paper on Agamemnon, read before the American Philological Association, 1877, the last two kindly sent me by the authors.

In the Introduction and Notes I have mostly abandoned the meaningless custom of writing the Greek names according to their Latin corruptions. I perhaps ought to apologise for not having done this completely : but some names are so naturalised in their Latin dress that I have not changed them.

OXFORD, 1881.

#### NOTE TO THE SECOND EDITION.

IN issuing this revised edition, I wish to express my thanks to several friends and critics for suggestions, especially to Mr. H. A. J. Munro, whose remarks have modified my view of one or two passages : also to Mr. E. S. Shuckburgh, Mr. E. D. A. Morshead, and Professor Mahaffy. Mr. Margoliouth's Agamemnon, unfortunately for me, did not appear in time for me to make any use of it in preparing this edition.

#### NOTE TO THE THIRD EDITION.

IN this revision I have had the advantage of using the edition of Wecklein, who has collected and sifted all the corrections and suggested emendations of the text of Aeschylus, up to the date 1880. I have with the aid of this careful and laborious work corrected a few of the emendations recorded at the foot of my text, which had been wrongly attributed, and added several more notes on the text in an appendix (No. 5). In this appendix I have also included what seemed to me the best of Mr. Margoliouth's numerous and ingenious suggestions. A few misprints have also been corrected in the notes, which I have been enabled to do by the kindness of friends who have detected and pointed out the errors.

OXFORD, *Sept.* 1887.

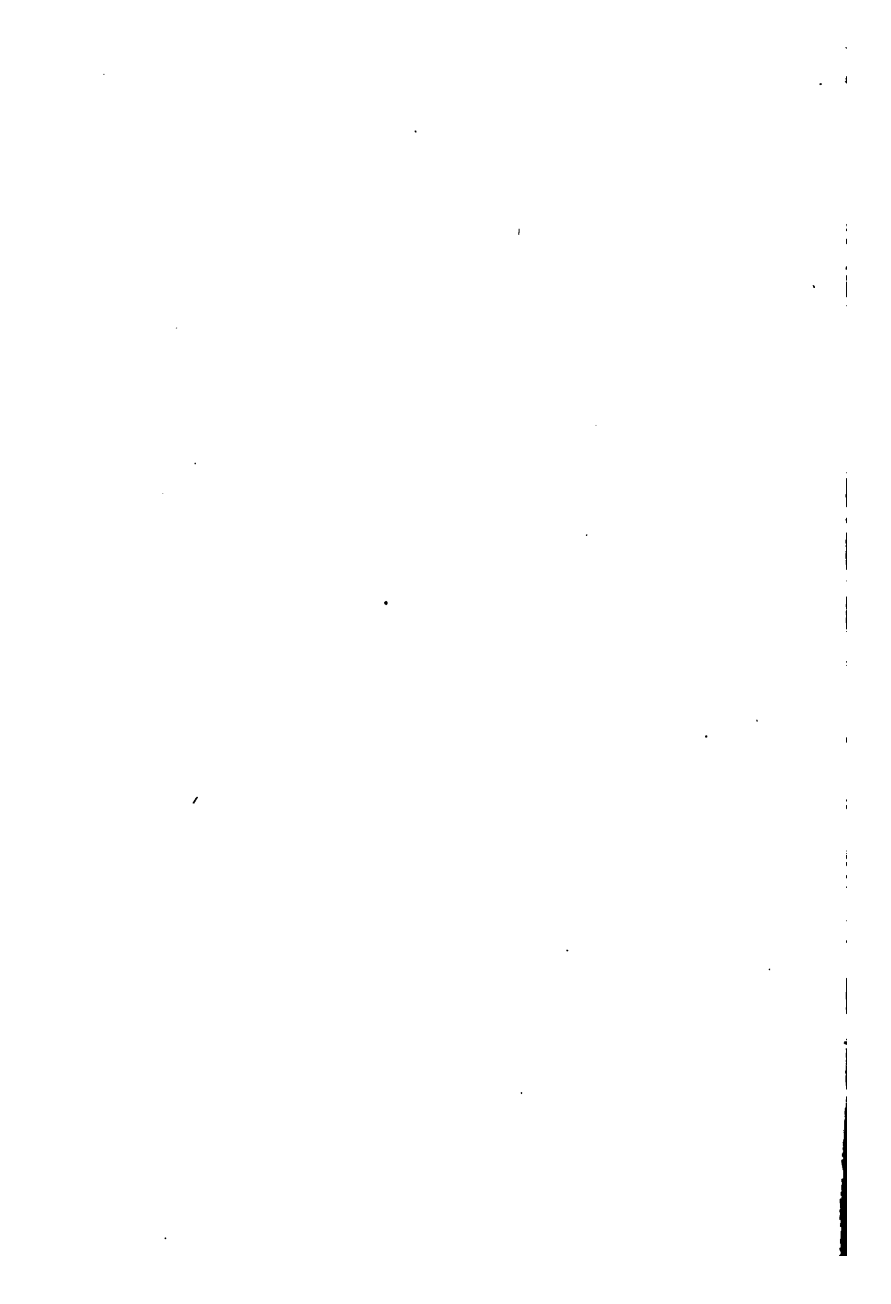
# CONTENTS.

## PART I.

	PAGE
INTRODUCTION . . . . .	vii
THE ORESTEIA . . . . .	vii
STORY AND PLOT OF AGAMEMNON . . . . .	viii
EARLIER VERSIONS OF THE STORY . . . . .	viii
MODIFICATIONS OF THE STORY . . . . .	x
THE DRAMA OF THE AGAMEMNON . . . . .	xi
THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS . . . . .	xiii
THE CHARACTERS . . . . .	xiv
THE CHORIC SONGS . . . . .	xvii
THE MANUSCRIPTS . . . . .	xix
THE EDITIONS . . . . .	xxi
THE TEXT . . . . .	xxii
TRANSLATIONS . . . . .	xxii
TEXT . . . . .	i-61

## PART II.

NOTES . . . . .	i-79
APPENDICES . . . . .	80
INDICES . . . . .	86



# INTRODUCTION.

## THE ORESTEIA.

THE Agamemnon is one of a set of three plays which all dealt with the same story, each constituting as it were one act of a great drama. Such sets were called trilogies, and according to the ordinary theory were acted on the same occasion, and were usually followed by a fourth play of a lighter cast (called Satyric dramas, from the Satyr or attendant of Dionysos, which originally was a leading part in it): the whole four being called a tetralogy. The subject of the Satyric play in this instance is traditionally recorded to have been 'Proteus.' Considerable doubt has been thrown upon this theory of trilogies or tetralogies; but it is at least clear that the three plays in this case were all composed by the poet with reference to each other. The Agamemnon relates the return and murder of the king (the Crime); in the second play, the Choëphoroe, Orestes comes back and slays his mother Klytaemnestra (the Vengeance); while in the third, the Eumenides, the matricide is released from the furies who have pursued him, and acquitted by divine interposition before the Areiopagos at Athens (the Reconciliation). About the Proteus we know nothing<sup>1</sup>.

The date of the Agamemnon is given as B.C. 458, and the poet won the first prize.

The presumable division of parts is as follows in the Agamemnon:—

Chief actor or Protagonist: Klytaemnestra.

Second actor or Deuteragonist: Kassandra.

Third actor or Tritagonist: Agamemnon.

Watchman, Herald, Aegisthos, divided among the others.

Chorus of Argive elders.

<sup>1</sup> Except three fragmentary lines and a few words, preserved by grammarians and scholiasts, and printed among the fragments of Aeschylus.

## THE STORY AND THE PLOT OF THE AGAMEMNON.

The story is the return and murder of Agamemnon by Klytaemnestra his wife, aided by her lover Aegisthos; Agamemnon is accompanied by a captive, the princess and prophetess Cassandra, and she is murdered by the same hands at the same time. The story is as old as Homer, and Aeschylus gives it, as will be seen below, with some differences.

The action of the play in detail is as follows :—

Agamemnon has been absent for ten years at Troy. Meanwhile his wife Klytaemnestra has been ruling Argos (not Mykenae, see note on line 1), in conjunction with her lover Aegisthos. The news of the capture of Troy is daily expected, and the play opens with the appearance of the night-watchman on the roof, waiting (as he has been for a year past) for the beacon fire which is to announce the victory. While the watchman is complaining of his troubles, the flame flashes out, and he goes to tell his mistress (Prologue). The chorus enter and sing; meanwhile the queen comes out, and is seen lighting the altar fires and preparing for a festal display in honour of the event. The leader of the chorus learns from her the tidings, and after describing the beacon-race, she imagines the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that all will end well (Scene 1). After another choric song the Herald appears, who describes, first, the sufferings before Troy, and, finally, the storm which scattered the fleet; the queen sends by him a welcome to her lord (Scene 2). In Scene 3 Agamemnon returns, with Cassandra; Klytaemnestra greets her lord, and persuades him to step into the palace over purple carpets. In Scene 4 the queen orders in Cassandra, but as the prophetess sits mute and disregards her, she retires. Cassandra then delivers herself of her visions, and announces the murder of the king and of herself. The groans are heard behind the scenes; the doors open, and Klytaemnestra is seen with the dead. She justifies her deed, and afterward Aegisthos comes forth and exults; and just as the Argives are about to assail him, the queen steps in and stays the tumult.

## EARLIER VERSIONS OF THE STORY.

The earliest version of the story must be gathered from the following passages in Homer<sup>1</sup> :—

<sup>1</sup> Quoted from the beautiful translation by Butcher and Lang.

(1) *Od. i. 35.* 'Even as of late Aegisthos, beyond that which was ordained, took to him the wedded wife of Atreides, and killed her lord on his return, and that with sheer doom before his eyes, since we [the gods, Zeus is speaking] had warned him by the mouth of Hermes . . . that he should neither kill the man nor woo his wife. For from Orestes shall there be vengeance for Atreides so soon as he shall come to man's estate and long for his own country. So spake Hermes, yet he prevailed not on the heart of Aegisthos.'

(2) *Od. iii. 263.* '[Aegisthos] living in peace in the heart of Argos . . . spake oftentimes to the wife of Agamemnon and tempted her. Verily at the first she would none of the foul deed, the fair Klytaemnestra, for she had a good understanding. Moreover there was with her a minstrel, whom the son of Atreus straitly charged as he went to Troy to have a care of his wife. But when at last the doom of the gods bound her to her ruin, then did Aegisthos carry the minstrel to a lonely isle, and left him there to be the prey and spoil of birds; while, as for her, he led her to his house, a willing lover with a willing lady . . . . . [304] and for seven years he ruled over Mykenae, rich in gold, after he slew the son of Atreus, and the people were subdued unto him. But in the eighth year came upon him goodly Orestes back from Athens to be his bane, and slew the slayer of his father.'

(3) *Od. iv. 521.* 'Then verily did Agamemnon set forth with joy upon his country's soil, . . . and the watchman spied him from his tower, whom crafty Aegisthos had led and posted there, promising him for a reward two talents of gold. Now he kept watch for a year, lest Agamemnon should pass by him when he looked not, and mind him of his wild prowess. So he went to the house to bear the tidings to the shepherd of the people. And straightway Aegisthos contrived a cunning treason. He chose out twenty of the best men in the township, and set an ambush, and on the further side of the hall he bade prepare a feast. Then with chariot and horses he went to bid to the feast Agamemnon, shepherd of the people: but caitiff thoughts were in his heart. He brought him up to his house all unwitting of his doom, and when he had feasted him, slew him, as one slayeth an ox at the stall. And none of the company of Atreides were left, nor any of the men of Aegisthos, but they were all killed in the halls.'

(4) Od. xi. 409. [Shade of Agamemnon speaks.] 'Aegisthos slew me, with the aid of my accursed wife . . . . after he had bidden me to his house . . . . Even so I died, and round me my company likewise were slain without ceasing . . . . And most pitiful of all, I heard the voice of the daughter of Priam, of *Kassandra*, whom the traitorous *Klytaemnestra* slew hard by me; but as for me, as I strove to raise my hands I dropped them to the earth as I lay dying . . . . Naught is more shameless than a woman who imagines such evil in her heart, even as she too planned a foul deed, fashioning death for her gentle lord.'

#### MODIFICATIONS OF THE STORY.

It will be seen not only that the tale, as Aeschylus gives it, is different in many particulars from the Homeric story, but also that in the different passages of the *Odyssey* different versions seem to have been current; or at least it is possible to trace a development of the mythus.

In Homer it is *Aegisthos* who does the murder, either alone, as (1) seems to imply, or by an ambuscade, as (3) tells us. Also *Aegisthos* is not in Agamemnon's palace: he took *Klytaemnestra* to his own house (2): and there entertained the king (3), and there murdered him. *Aegisthos*' motive is not mentioned, but seems to be mere ambition.

*Klytaemnestra* in (1), (2), and (3) is not said to have had anything to do with the murder, but is only described as unfaithful: while in (4) she 'planned the foul deed,' and 'aided' the murderer, and herself killed *Kassandra*.

The '*minstrel*' who watched over the wife appears in (2) only and is nowhere else alluded to.

*Kassandra* appears only in (4).

In Aeschylus *Aegisthos* is only secondary in the murder: he is 'a recreant lion wallowing in the couch.' The motive which he alleges is vengeance, arising out of family feuds.

*Klytaemnestra* is the leading agent: she is the ἀνδρόβουλον κέαρ who devises and executes: and her motive too is vengeance for her child's death, with a touch of jealousy for *Kassandra*. Of a feast or ambuscade Aeschylus knows nothing: the king is muffled in a cloak and stabbed in a bath. And there is no battle of attendants.



The *Watchman* in Aeschylus, though, like the Homeric guard in (3), 'he has watched for a year,' is not a spy of Aegisthos watching to catch Agamemnon, but a loyal servant<sup>1</sup> who grieves over the disorders of the house, is watching for the *beacon*, and is overjoyed at the thought of seeing his master. And the murder takes place in the palace of Agamemnon.

Besides these there are minor modifications of the story. The confusion of Argos and Mykenae is mentioned in notes on line 1. In Homer too *Menelaos*<sup>2</sup> is king of Sparta and has nothing to do with the Agamemnon tale: in Aeschylus he is clearly joint-king of Argos with Agamemnon (42 sqq.). The chorus inquire for him, and call him 'loved ruler of the land' (619). The two are 'one in heart,' a 'two-throned power of the Achaei' (109), and live in the same palace, called *δόμος Ἀτρεΐδων* (400). This accounts for the anxious inquiry of the chorus (617), and the reassurance given by the herald (675) about Menelaos.

#### THE DRAMA OF THE AGAMEMNON.

How far Aeschylus was following current modifications in the story, and how far he himself modified the tradition for dramatic purposes, we cannot fully tell: nor is the subject one of great importance. It is of far greater interest to notice briefly some of the points that contribute to the extraordinary impressiveness of the poem as a work of art and as a drama.

Of Aeschylus' style it is not necessary to say much: every reader will feel its beauty and power. The principal characteristics of it are obviously its dignity, its strength, and the boldness and wealth of its imagery<sup>3</sup>: and though there are passages in the Agamemnon which are bare, even in bareness it is grand; and on the other hand there are passages which for tenderness and pathos and pure poetic beauty are unmatched even in Greek.

<sup>1</sup> This explains a curious note at the beginning of the Medicean manuscript, *θεράπων Ἀγαμέμνονος, οὐχ ὁ ὑπὸ Αἰγίσθου ταχθεὶς*.

<sup>2</sup> This is remarked by Prof. Campbell in *American Journal of Phil.*, Dec. 1880.

<sup>3</sup> Thus he speaks of 'the beard of fire,' 'war the gold-merchant,' a hurricane as 'an evil shepherd,' the sea 'flowering with dead,' a lion 'the Priest of Ruin,' 'the net of death,' 'the mixing bowl of wrath,' 'the raging Dam of Hades,' hope 'treading the halls of Fear.'

Such are the descriptions of Iphigeneia in the first chorus, of Helen in the second, and the whole scene with Cassandra. We have, too, much relief in the variety of the characters; and even a touch of humour here and there, as in the helplessness of the Argive elders after the murder<sup>1</sup>, and the racy vernacular idiom of the *φύλαξ*.

Another point is the marvellous power of conception shown in the two leading figures, Klytaemnestra and Cassandra, as is more fully developed below in treating of the characters (p. xiv).

But the effect of the play is largely due to another element, which is quite independent of the grandeur of the style, and the power of presenting character. And this element is what we may call the moralising of the plot. In Homer we have merely a tale of savage ambition and crime. In Aeschylus we have a house tainted with dreadful wickedness in the past, old sin leading to new sin, and that to further retribution, till the family seems haunted by a terrible fate of bloodshed. According to the later tale, Pelops, the ancestor, slew Myrtilus, by whose aid he won his bride: Atreus and Thyestes, his sons, slew their step-brother Chrysippos: Thyestes seduced his brother's wife Aerope. Atreus served up the slain children of Thyestes for their father to eat: Atreus' son Agamemnon banished Thyestes and his third son Aegisthos, and slew his own daughter Iphigeneia. Aeschylus only mentions the last three of these crimes: but the bloody past is present in his thoughts. And what gives the play its overwhelming effect is the feeling, ever growing, of this past horror and impending retribution. The 'House knows the many deeds of blood:' and the Avenger is always waiting. The justice of the gods may be slow, but it is sure.

This feeling is chiefly aroused and maintained by the choric songs, which will be found analysed below, p. xvii. For, by the necessities of the case, it is the chorus who have to hint the bloodguiltiness of the king. The queen, who is to avenge the deed, cannot charge him with it, since, in order to execute her plot, she must maintain the mask of love and faithfulness<sup>2</sup>. And

<sup>1</sup> The contrast between the decisiveness of the heroic personages and the imbecility of the council reveals a glimpse of the anti-democratic tendencies of the poet.

<sup>2</sup> Enger, Preface to Agamemnon.

accordingly these choric songs are not merely splendid lyric poems, they are also as it were the voice of the general conscience sadly foreboding inevitable doom. In the eloquent words of a French critic<sup>1</sup>: 'The idea of impending chastisement is incessantly repeated; it mingles with the joy of victory; a dark cloud, big with the storm, covers the gloomy scene; till the dream, so wearing and so terrible, filled with visions so fearful and mysterious, ends with a peal of thunder.'

#### THE MORAL AND RELIGIOUS IDEAS.

The leading religious and moral ideas of Aeschylus, as they appear in the *Agamemnon*, can be summarised in a few sentences.

There is unquestioning faith in the gods: impiety, τὸ δυσσεβές, is the worst of sins (760). The gods are all powerful: Zeus is beyond compare (162), the cause of all and the doer of all (1485). The gods regard men's actions (370), punish transgression (59), avenge bloodshed (461), though the retribution may linger (364).

The leading idea of the gods is their power: human sin comes from resisting or defying this power, ὑβρις (765). The gods are also just: but the justice is a form of their power; it is the humbling of the proud. So wealth is no defence to the wicked (381), and virtue is found among men in humble dwellings (772).

The cruder idea that God resents mere prosperity, he rejects (755): misery always comes from sin (760). Yet prosperity is dangerous, as it engenders pride (372): mortals are insatiate of wealth (1002, 1331) and so come to ill. For human well-being is precarious: 'Disease is behind the party-wall,' and there is always 'the hidden reef' (1002-5). The thunderbolt strikes the famous (470).

Man then who has sinned cannot escape: the doer must suffer' (1564). And in this way God teaches man: 'wisdom comes by suffering' (177).

Aeschylus feels strongly the mysteriousness of human fate and the helplessness of man. Though the gods are omnipotent and just, yet this justice acts inscrutably. Agamemnon was bidden to slay his child, and had to obey (206): yet it was a crime (219-221),

<sup>1</sup> Patin, *Étude sur Eschyle*.

and produced 'terrible wrath,' rising again (154). It was to the king 'the collar of necessity' (218). In this way there is a fate, an avenger, established in the house (1481, 1507), the house is 'close welded to ruin' (1565). The refrain of human life is the prayer, 'Woe: but let good prevail,' which recurs in the first chorus: and the conclusion of the whole matter is 'it is hard to discern,' *δύσμαχά ἐστι κρίναι* (1561).

#### THE CHARACTERS.

**Klytaemnestra.** The character of Klytaemnestra is given with a masterly force and effect in every stroke. There are no fine shades about the drawing, as there are none in the conception. She is the impersonation of the tyrannic self-will, wronged and angered, and turned to vengeance. She is Homer's *οὐλομένη ἄλοχος*, 'an accursed wife:' pitiless, and contemptuous, and unimpassioned, but resolutely bent on revenge, and concentrating her whole Titanic force upon it without misgiving<sup>1</sup>. There is no womanly passion in her, and no trace of weakness. The murder she is bent on is in revenge for her slain child, but we hear scarcely a word of love<sup>2</sup> for Iphigeneia from her lips: the lovely description of the maiden in her father's halls is from the mouth of the chorus; but the mother scarcely mentions her save in the climax of her bitter triumph, when with dreadful irony she pictures her welcoming her sire in Hades (1555). She is an adulteress, but there is no love for her paramour; her unfaithfulness is merely a form of her vengeance: hatred of her husband is the motive of it, not love of Aegisthos. She is crafty, but hers is the craft of a strong and not a weak nature: it is only the needful means to carry out her purpose completely, and the moment the need is over, the mask is scornfully flung aside.

Let us briefly trace her attitude through the play.

In scene 2 she enters (264) in apparent triumph: but of course the joy is not over the fall of Troy, it is merely grim delight in the coming vengeance. There is irony in her first word *εὐάγ-*

<sup>1</sup> One leading difference between Klytaemnestra and her great rival Lady Macbeth lies in the difference of the effect of the crime upon the two. Klytaemnestra is unshaken: Lady Macbeth is broken by it.

<sup>2</sup> She does call her *φιλοτάτην ἐμοὶ ὠδῖνα*: but this is in a passing justification, and is not really dwelt on by the poet.

γελος. - There is a savage force in her long description of the beacons (281), and the state of Troy (320): she is acting a part all through. And there is a deep irony in her hope (347) 'that no evil desire might bring woe on the host: old ills might wake!'

In scene 3 she scornfully banters the chorus (590) for having doubted her report: and she ends with the terrible prayer, 'May he find a faithful wife, ay, even as he left her' (606).

In scene 4, when she meets her returning husband, she keeps up unflinchingly the part she is acting. She poses audaciously as the chaste matron who does not speak of her wifely love before others (856): laments the loneliness of her lot in her lord's absence (861): half withdraws the mask to jest about the reported wounds of Agamemnon (868), then enlarges on her tears and watchings (888): and describes her joy at his return in fulsome images (896). This masterly speech ends with the thrilling line 'That justice may lead him to an unlooked for home,' and an ambiguous promise that she will 'order aright what is fated' (910-12).

Then follows the effective irony of Agamemnon entering 'the human slaughter-house' over purple carpets.

After the next chorus she has a short scene (sc. 5) with the speechless Cassandra, showing herself as the contemptuous and pitiless tyrant (1055-1068).

In scene 6 the deed is done and she boasts of it, 'I stand where I struck the blow: the deed is done.' We observe her grim talk of decorum (!), which prevents her from pouring libations of triumph (1395), her total disregard of the opinions others have of her act, 'the blame or praise is all one to me' (1403), and her bitter triumph over Cassandra (1440), savouring characteristically far more of contempt than of jealousy.

In the κομμός her cold irony and hardness reaches a climax. She calls herself the Avenger of the House (1500): vents the fearful sarcasm about Iphigeneia mentioned above (1555): and ends with a calm resolve, as though she were the victim and not the criminal, to 'bear her troubles' and a wish for 'a quiet life and a humble competence!' (1574).

In the last scene, true to herself, she just interposes at the end to stop the brawling between Aegisthos and the Chorus: 'We have had enough of trouble,' and to lead off her lover, bidding him not mind 'the vain howlings' of the Chorus.

**Kassandra.** Cassandra is not strictly speaking a study of *character* at all: the interest comes from her situation, and the extraordinary picturesqueness and impressiveness of the figure she presents. If the object of tragedy is to arouse 'pity and terror' there is no more supremely tragic figure than Cassandra in all the Greek drama.

She comes on, silent and wild-glancing ('like a new-caught beast,' 1063) in the car of Agamemnon. She is a princess, a prophetess, and a captive. She sits motionless on the stage during the long scene between Agamemnon and Klytaemnestra (810-974), and the choric song (975-1034), and hears the queen's reiterated scornful commands without a word of answer. When Klytaemnestra is gone, she replies to the kind and pitying tones of the chorus first with wild exclamations, then with cries of horror, growing slowly more articulate and clear, against the crime-defiled house before her. Then the past deeds of blood rise before her in visions each more startling than the last, till the climax is reached in the terrible *ἰδοὺ ἰδοὺ ἀπὸ τοῦ βόδου τὸν ταῦρον* (1125): after which she passes into tender and sad laments of her own fate. Then she sinks from the excited lyric dochmiacs to 'clear prophecy' in the ordinary iambic metre, broken by two spasms of inspiration. Next follows the splendid soliloquy (1255), when she hurls to the ground the badges of her prophetic office, the sacred staff and chaplets; and finally, after one more prophecy of the Retribution of Orestes, she utters the saddest of all laments over human destiny—

'Alas for mortal lot! when prosperous  
'tis but a sketch! and if misfortune comes,  
the wet sponge with its touch blots out the drawing;'

and so passes under the blood-stained portal to her death.

**Agamemnon.** Though the king gives his name to the play, and though he is in one sense the central figure, he only appears in one short scene. But that suffices for the poet's purpose. Agamemnon is the victorious heroic monarch, returning in triumph to the house which is to be 'a human slaughter-house': and all that is wanted is what we have, the stately procession, the thanksgiving, the greeting interchanged with his wife, the natural Greek misgiving at the needless waste and display of the purple tapestries, and the royal graciousness with which after a

brief resistance he gives way to Klytaemnestra's wish. The irony of the situation is brought fully out; even down to the minor touches, such as his bitter words about false friends (837) when he is thinking of the Greeks before Troy, and ignorant of the faithlessness of his wife: and again the almost pathetic futility of his pious caution in taking off his shoes (945), when at last he agrees to tread the purple.

**Aegisthos** is but the 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' (1224), or again, 'the wolf that mated with the lioness' (1259), as **Kassandra** calls him: or, in the rough vernacular of the chorus, 'a cock proud before his hen' (1671). He simply comes on to tell the tale of blood (1577), and to boast the deed he has not dared to do. He is an effective foil to the queen; especially at the very end, where **Aegisthos** blusters and threatens the chorus, whom **Klytaemnestra** treats with cold and distant scorn. 'Care not for the vain howls of these men: thou and I will rule the house and order it well.' In his case, as in the queen's, vengeance is given as the motive for his plot.

**The Watchman** forms an effective opening to the play, with the contrast between the rough and almost humorous homeliness of his speech and the terrible drama that impends: but enough is said of him in the notes, see 17.

**The Herald** performs the usual office of the ἀγγελος, varying the drama with a fine description of the shipwreck (650). His appearance also serves to heighten the suspense and darken the forebodings.

#### THE CHORIC SONGS.

The full analysis of the choric songs will be found in the notes: but it is desirable to take a general view of them, in order to see their dramatic effect.

(1) 40-257. The chorus do not yet know the good news of the capture: and in this first song they tell the tale of the mustering of the fleet for Troy, the sign of the eagles and the hare, and the adverse gales, and the sacrifice of **Iphigeneia**. The opening thought is 'the gods are just, and must punish the sin of Paris' (59 sqq.). But the hope is mixed with fear (100) and the refrain (121, 139, 159) echoes the mingled feelings. They cannot shake off the thought that the slaughter of the maiden must bring woe: 'it is a lawless sacrifice, a seed of strife' (152): 'the wrath remains terribly doomed to return' (155): Zeus

'teaches men by suffering' (176). And the whole description of the sacrifice (205-246) with its terrible pathos and beauty is meant to enhance the horror of the crime. The song ends with an awful foreboding, based on a sure belief in justice (250): the future is so dark that it is folly to look forward: 'too early knowledge is too early sorrow' (252).

A strain of deep faith runs through it all. 'Zeus is beyond compare' (163), and Retribution is sure.

(2) 355-487. The news has now come of the victory, and we expect a song of joy.

But the tone of the Chorus is again rather a praise of justice which punishes crime. It is the crime of Paris of which they speak chiefly: but one feels all through that there are other sins in the singer's mind which shall also be punished: and at the end there is a clear note of misgiving for Agamemnon on a new ground, namely because he has caused the death of so many warriors.

The description of the wrecked happiness of the home, where the wife has been faithless, and of the horrors of war, as shown in the slaughter of citizens and the consequent wide-spread mourning, are both written with a modern intensity and sympathy, which seem remarkably in advance of ordinary Greek sentiment; quite apart from their imperishable beauty.

(3) 681-809. The messenger has come and confirmed the tidings with details of the victory: but significantly the tale ends with disaster: the returning fleet was wrecked.

The Chorus again dwell on the Retribution to those who wronged Hospitality: the beauty of Helen (which is described in lines of unspeakable loveliness, 740-3) only brings into sharper contrast the curse which came with her: like a lion's whelp, a cherished plaything, grown into a ravager of flocks.

At the end is a remarkable passage, in which the poet repudiates the common Greek doctrine of *φθόρος*, which taught that man's prosperity roused the envy of the gods and so brought disaster. 'No,' says Aeschylus, 'it is not Prosperity, but always *sin*, violence, injustice that brings woe.'

Again the application is apparently to Paris: again we feel that the sin of Agamemnon is present in the thought.

(4) 975-1034. The king has returned, been greeted, and entered the palace in triumph over the purple tapestry. The success is apparently complete.



The choric song is however one long foreboding of ill: a foreboding 'which they cannot explain, but cannot dismiss' (975-80). But the reason comes out: the sin is there, and so there is no safety. 'The black and murdered blood once shed who can recall?' (1019). They can only take refuge in vague and feeble hopes. One feels impending calamity in the very air.

(5) 1072-1177. In this astonishing scene we have the inspired *Kassandra* and her visions of past and impending deeds of blood. But this is fully explained in the notes, and the chorus has only a secondary part to play: and accordingly we may pass on.

(6) 1448-1576. The deed has been done: the foreboding is fulfilled, and the chorus in despair can only pray for death, and lament the woe that *Helena* caused. There is a Fate on the house (1467), it is the will of Heaven, of Zeus (1485): and when the queen urges that it is the requital for the murder of *Iphigenia* (the very deed which the chorus all through had expected to bring woe) they can only express sad perplexity: the justice, if it be justice, will demand yet another victim: the blood is falling ever faster (1534). And they end with again striking the note of Justice: 'it is the will of God that the doer shall suffer' (1563).

### THE MANUSCRIPTS.

The MSS. which contain the *Agamemnon*, the whole or part, are as follows:—

1. M. Much the oldest and most important is the *Medicean*, in the library of Lorenzo dei Medici at Florence, written on parchment in the 10th or 11th century; a facsimile of this has been published by the Clarendon Press at Oxford, 1871. The MS. contains *Agamemnon* 1-310, and 1067-1159, the middle and end of the play being lost.

2. G. *Guelferbytanus*, at Wolfenbüttel, written on paper in the 15th century, contains the same parts of the *Agamemnon* as M., of which it is clearly a copy. Dindorf calls it 'a most faulty manuscript.'

3. Ma. *Marcianus* (once in the monastery of San Marco), now in the library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on silk in the 15th century, also clearly a copy of M., containing the same parts of the play.

4. *Bessarionis*, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on paper about the 13th century, containing Ag. 1-348: probably a copy of M. before the loss of the central leaves (Moritz Haupt, preface to Hermann, 1859).

The above four are practically not independent authorities.

5. *V. The Venetian (Venetus B)*, in the library of St. Mark at Venice, written on parchment in the 13th<sup>1</sup> century, containing Ag. 1-45, and 1095 to end.

6. *Fl. Florentinus*, in the library of Lorenzo at Florence, written on paper in the 14th century, containing Agamemnon entire.

7. *Fa. Farnesianus* (once in the Farnese library), now in the Museum at Naples, written in the 14th century. It contains the revision of Demetrius Triclinius, who has done a good deal in the way of emendation, though often erroneously.

The exact relation of these three MSS. to the first four is not easy to determine: but there is no doubt that many obvious corruptions are common to all existing manuscripts.

It will perhaps be useful to put these facts about the MSS. in a tabular form as under:—

<i>Name.</i>	<i>Sign.</i>	<i>Contents.</i>	<i>Place.</i>	<i>Century.</i>	<i>Remarks.</i>
Mediceus	M.	{ 1-311, 1067-1159 }	Florence	10 or 11	Clearly copies of M. Prob. copied from M. before loss of leaves
Guelferbytanus	G.	do.	Wolfbtl.	15	
Marcianus	Ma.	do.	Florence	15	
Bessarionis	B.	1-348	Venice	13	
Venetus	V.	{ 1-45 1095-end }	Venice	13	
Florentinus	Fl.	all	Florence	14	
Farnesianus	Fa.	all	Naples	14	

The following table shows what MS. authority there is for each part of the play:—

1-45	...M. G. Ma. B. V. Fl. Fa.
46-311	...M. G. Ma. B. Fl. Fa.
312-348	...B. Fl. Fa.
349-1066	...Fl. Fa.
1067-1094	...M. G. Ma. Fl. Fa.
1095-1159	...M. G. Ma. V. Fl. Fa.
1160-end	...V. Fl. Fa.

<sup>1</sup> 15th, according to Wecklein.

## THE EDITIONS.

The editions of the *Agamemnon* have been extremely numerous, and the text, which in the MSS. is very corrupt and has often suffered from hasty emendation, has been gradually improved by a perfect host of scholars. There still remain however many places where the true reading is very doubtful, and a few which seem hopeless.

The following are the principal editors and correctors: those who have been consulted or quoted are given with the abbreviations used:—

<i>Abbrev.</i>	<i>Date.</i>	<i>Name.</i>	
	1518	Aldine.	{ These give only the fragments of Ag., which are found in M and G. The play is confused with the <i>Choëphoroe</i> .
	1552	Turnebus, Paris.	
Rob.	1552	Robertelli, Venice.	{ This gives the same fragments, but separate.
Vict.	1557	Victorius.	This is the first ed. which gives Ag. whole.
Cant.	1580	Canter, Antwerp.	
Stanl.	1663	Stanley, London.	
	1745	Pauw, Hague.	
Ask.	1746	Askew, Leyden.	
Schütz.	1784	Schütz, Halle.	
Pors.	1794	Porson.	
Butl.	1809	Butler.	
Blom.	1822	Blomfield, Cambridge.	
Tyrr.	1822	Tyrrwhitt (published by Elmsley), Oxford.	
Well.	1823	Wellauer, Leipzig.	
Schol.	1830	Scholefield, Cambridge.	
Klaus.	1833	Klausen, Gotha.	
Con.	1848	Conington, Oxford.	
Dind. D.	1851	Dindorf, Oxford.	
Hart.	1852	Hartung, Leipzig.	
Schöm.	1854	Schömann, Gryphiswald.	
Karst.	1855	Karsten, Traj. ad. Rhen.	
Pal. or P.	1855-79	Paley, London.	
Eng.	1855	Enger, Leipzig.	
Schn.	1856	Schneidewin, Berlin.	
H.	1859	Hermann, Berlin.	
Weil.	1861	Weil, Giessa.	
Keck.	1863	Keck, Leipzig.	
	1864	Van Heusde, Hague.	
Dav.	1868	Davies, Utrecht.	
Gilb.	1874	Gilbert (edited Enger).	
K.	1878	Kennedy, Cambridge.	
Kirch.	1880	Kirchhoff, Berlin.	
Marg.	1884	Margoliouth, Oxford.	
Weck.	1885	Wecklein, Berlin.	

Besides these, the following have contributed emendations:—

Aur.	Auratus.	Heath.	Heath.
Cas.	Is. Casaubon.	Franz.	Franz.
Scal.	Scaliger.	Musgr.	Musgrave.
Ahr.	Ahrens.	Madv.	Madvig.
Dobr.	Dobree.	Both.	Bothe.

I use the common abbreviation L. S. for Liddell and Scott.

### THE TEXT

In the text I have aimed at giving (at the foot of the pages) the MSS. reading of all the doubtful places, where the MSS. differ among themselves, or are all wrong; except in the numerous instances where the corrections are quite obvious and generally accepted; and even of these latter I have given all which can be called important. The MSS. are very corrupt, and the number of such small but necessary corrections is very much greater than any one would suppose who had not studied the full apparatus criticus of the play.

Where the reading adopted occurs in any of the MSS. and any other MS. differs, and the question is doubtful or important, the readings are given in a note at the bottom of the text, but there is no mark in the text.

Where the reading adopted is conjectural, and appears in no MS., it is marked with an asterisk, the MS. reading (or readings) given in the note, and usually the corrector or editor, to whom the emendation is due, named. Thus, line 69, *in the text*, \*ὑποκαίων: *in the note* ὑποκλαίων MSS. corr. Cas. i. e. 'the manuscripts read ὑποκλαίων; the correction in the text is due to Casaubon.'

Where neither MSS. nor proposed readings are satisfactory, the passage is marked with †. Thus line 14, †έμήν.

### TRANSLATIONS.

The Agamemnon has been done into English in nearly a score of translations. Those which I have consulted, and occasionally

taken the liberty to quote, are the following; I give the abbreviations in italics, by which they are quoted in my notes :—

Professor Conington (*Con.*).

Miss Swanwick (*Swan.*).

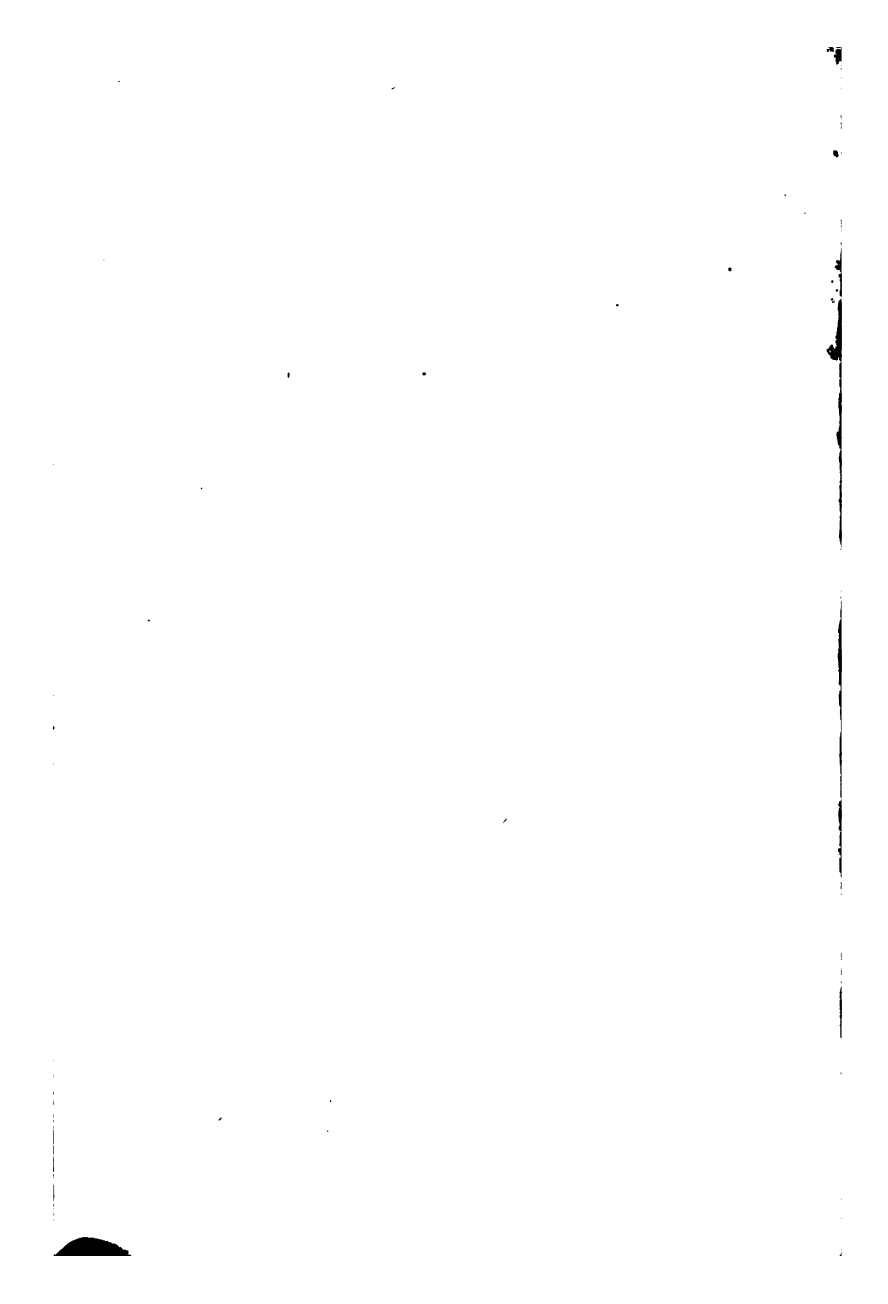
Dean Milman (*Mil.*).

Mr. R. Browning (*Br.*).

Professor Kennedy (*Ken.*).

Mr. E. D. A. Morshead (*Mors.*).

The last is the one to which I owe most.



ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΤΑ ΤΟΥ ΔΡΑΜΑΤΟΣ ΠΡΟΣΩΠΑ.

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ΦΥΛΑΞ.

ΧΟΡΟΣ ΑΡΓΕΙΩΝ

ΚΑΤΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑ.

ΤΑΛΕΥΒΙΟΣ ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.



## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

### ΦΥΛΑΞ.

Θεοὺς μὲν αἰτῶ τῶνδ' ἀπαλλαγὴν πόνων,  
 φρουρᾶς ἔτελας μῆκος, ἣν κοιμώμενος  
 στέγαις Ἀτρειδῶν ἄγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκη, +  
 ἄστρον κάτοιδα νυκτέρων ὁμήγουρι,  
 καὶ τοὺς φέροντας χεῖμα καὶ θέρος βροτοῖς 5  
 λαμπροὺς δυνάστας, ἐμπρέποντας αἰθέρι·  
 [ἀστέρας, ὅταν φθίνωσιν, ἀντολὰς τε τῶν·]  
 καὶ νῦν φυλάσσω λαμπάδος τὸ σύμβολον,  
 αὐγὴν πυρὸς φέρουσιν ἐκ Τροίας φάτιν,  
 ἀλώσιμόν τε βάζειν· ὧδε γὰρ κρατεῖ 10  
 γυναικὸς ἀνδρόβουλον ἐλπίζον κέαρ.  
 εὖτ' ἂν δὲ νυκτίπλαγκτον ἐνδροσόν τ' ἔχω  
 εὐνήν ὀνείροις οὐκ ἐπισκοπομένην  
 † ἐμήν,—φόβος γὰρ ἀνθ' ὕπνου παραστατεῖ,  
 τὸ μὴ βεβαίως βλέφαρα συμβαλεῖν ὕπνῳ·— 15  
 ὅταν δ' ἀεῖδειν ἢ μινύρεσθαι δοκῶ,  
 ὕπνου τόδ' ἀντίμολπον ἐντέμνων ἄκος,  
 κλαίω τότε οἶκον τοῦδε συμφορὰν στένων,  
 οὐχ ὥς τὰ πρόσθ' ἄριστα διαπονουμένου.  
 νῦν δ' εὐτυχῆς γένοιτ' ἀπαλλαγὴ πόνων 20  
 εὐαγγέλου φανέντος ὀρφναίου πυρός.

7. Probably spurious.

17. ἐκτέμνων V. Fl.

ὦ χαῖρε λαμπτήρ νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον  
φάος πιφάυσκων καὶ χορῶν κατάστασιν  
πολλῶν ἐν Ἀργεῖ, τῇσδε συμφορᾶς χάριν.  
λοῦ λοῦ.

25

Ἀγαμέμνωνος γυναικὶ σημαίνω τορῶς,  
εὐνῆς ἐπαντεῖλασαν ὥς τάχος δόμοις  
ὀλολυγμὸν εὐφημοῦντα τῇδε λαμπάδι  
ἐπορθιάζειν, εἴπερ Ἴλίου πόλις  
ἐάλωκεν, ὥς ὁ φρυκτὸς ἀγγέλλων πρέπει·  
αὐτός τ' ἔγωγε φροῖμιον χορεύσομαι.

30

τὰ δεσποτῶν γὰρ εὖ πεσόντα θήσομαι  
τρὶς ἐξ βαλούσης τῇσδέ μοι φρυκτωρίας.  
γέννοιτο δ' οὖν μολόντος εὐφιλῇ χέρα  
ἄνακτος οἴκων τῇδε βαστάσαι χερί.

35

τὰ δ' ἄλλα σιγῶ· βοῦς ἐπὶ γλώσση μέγας  
βέβηκεν· οἶκος δ' αὐτός, εἰ φθογγὴν λάβοι,  
σαφέστατ' ἂν λέξειεν· ὥς ἐκὼν ἐγὼ  
μαθοῦσιν αὐδῶ, κοῦ μαθοῦσι λήθομαι.

## ΧΟΡΟΣ.

δέκατον μὲν ξίτος τόδ' ἐπεὶ Πριάμου  
μέγας ἀντίδικος,  
Μενέλαος ἀναξ ἦδ' Ἀγαμέμνων,  
διθρόνου Διόθεν καὶ δισκῆπτρου  
τιμῆς ὀχυρὸν ζεύγος Ἀτρειδᾶν,  
στόλον Ἀργείων χιλιοναύταν  
τῇσδ' ἀπὸ χώρας  
ἦραν, στρατιῶτιν ἄρωγῇν,  
μέγαν ἐκ θυμοῦ κλάζοντες Ἀρη,

40

45

τρόπον αἰγυπιῶν,  
 οἷτ' ἐκπατίοις ἄλγεσι παίδων 50  
 ὕπατοι λεχέων στροφοδινούνται,  
 πτερύγων ἐρετμοῖσιν ἐρεσσόμενοι,  
 δεμνιοτήρη  
 πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες·  
 ὕπατος δ' αἰῶν ἥ τις Ἀπόλλων, 55  
 ἢ Πάν, ἢ Ζεύς, οἰωνόθροον  
 γόον ὀξυβάαν τῶνδε μετοίκων  
 ὕστερόποιον  
 πέμπει παραβᾶσιν Ἑρινύν.  
 οὔτω δ' Ἀτρείως παῖδας ὁ κρείσσων 60  
 ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ πέμπει ξένιος  
 Ζεύς, πολυάνορος ἀμφὶ γυναικός,  
 πολλὰ παλαίσματα καὶ γυνοβαρῇ,  
 γόνατος κονίαισιν ἐρειδομένου  
 διακνατομένης τ' ἐν προτελείοις 65  
 κάμακος, θήσων Δαναοῖσι  
 Τρῶσιν θ' ὁμοίως. ἔστι δ' ὅπη νῦν  
 ἔστι τελεῖται δ' ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον·  
 οὔθ' \*ὑποκαίων οὔθ' ὑπολείβων  
 οὔτε δακρύων ἀπύρων ἱερῶν 70  
 ὀργὰς ἀτενεῖς παραθέλξει.  
 ἡμεῖς δ' ἀτίται σαρκὶ παλαιᾷ  
 τῆς τότ' ἀρωγῆς ὑπολειφθέντες  
 μίμνομεν ἰσχύν  
 ἰσόπαιδα νέμοντες ἐπὶ σκήπτροις. 75  
 ὃ τε γὰρ νεαρὸς μυελὸς στέρνων  
 ἐντὸς \*ἀνάσσω  
 ἰσόπρεσβυς, Ἄρης δ' οὐκ ἐνὶ χώρᾳ,

τό θ' ὑπεργήρων φυλλάδος ἤδη  
 κατακαρφομένης τρίποδας μὲν ὁδοὺς 80  
 στείχει, παιδὸς δ' οὐδὲν ἀρείων  
 ὄναρ ἡμερόφαντον ἀλαίνει.  
 σὺ δέ, Τυνδάρεω  
 θύγατερ, βασίλεια Κλυταιμνήστρα,  
 τί χρέος; τί νέον; τί δ' ἐπαισθομένη, 85  
 τίνος ἀγγελίας  
 \* πευθοῖ περίπεμπτα θυοσκεῖς;  
 πάντων δὲ θεῶν τῶν ἀστυνόμων,  
 ὑπάτων, χθονίων,  
 τῶν τ' οὐρανίων τῶν τ' ἀγοραίων, 90  
 βωμοὶ δώροισι φλέγονται·  
 ἄλλη δ' ἄλλοθεν οὐρανομήκης  
 λαμπὰς ἀνίσχει,  
 φαρμασσομένη χρίματος ἀγνοῦ  
 μαλακαῖς ἀδόλοισι παρηγορίαις, 95  
 πελάνφ' μυχόθεν βασιλείῃ.  
 τούτῳ λέξας' ὃ τι καὶ δυνατὸν  
 καὶ θέμις αἰνεῖν.  
 παίων τε γενοῦ τῆσδε μερίμνης,  
 ἢ νῦν τοτὲ μὲν κακόφρων τελέθει, 100  
 τοτὲ δ' ἐκ θυσιῶν ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'  
 ἐλπίς ἀμύνει φροντίδ' ἀπληστον  
 \* τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης. [στρ. α'.  
 κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν ὄδιον κράτος αἴσιον ἀνδρῶν  
 /ἐκτελέων. ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει 105

79. τίθιπεργήρας M. G. τίθι περ γήρας Ma. τόθι περγήρας B.  
 τόθιπερ γήρας Fl. τόθ' ὑπεργήρων Fa. 87. πυθοῖ Fl. πειθοῖ cet.  
 θυοσκεινεῖς MSS. corr. Turn. 101. φαίνεις M. G. φαίνει B. φαί-  
 νουσα' Fl. Fa. 103. τὴν θυμοφθόρον λύπης φρένα M. G. B. τὴν  
 θυμοβόρον λυποφρένα Fa. τὴν θυμοβόρον λύπης φρένα Fl.

πειθῶ, \*μολπᾶν.

ἀλκάν, σύμφυτος αἰών,

ὅπως Ἀχαιῶν δῖθρονον κράτος, Ἑλλάδος ἦβας

ξύμφρονα τάγαν,

πέμπει ξύν δορὶ καὶ χερὶ πράκτορι

θούριος ὄρνις Τευκρίδ' ἐπ' αἶαν,

οἰωνῶν βασιλεὺς βασιλεῦσι νεῶν, ὁ κελαινός, ὃ τ'

ἐξόπιν ἀργᾶς,

φανέντες ἱκταρ μελάθρων, χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου,

παμπρέπτοις ἐν ἔδραισι,

βοσκομένοι λαγίναν, ἐρικύμονα \*φέρματα, γένναν,

βλαβέντα λοιπθίων δρόμων.

αἶλινον αἶλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

[ἀντ. α'.

κεδνὸς δὲ στρατόμαντις ἰδὼν δύο \*λήμασιν ἔσους

Ἀτρεΐδας μαχίμους ἐδάη λαγοδαΐτας

πομπούς τ' ἀρχάς·

οὕτω δ' εἶπε τεράζων·

χρόνῳ μὲν ἀγρεῖ Πριάμου πόλιν ἄδε κέλευθος,

πάντα δὲ πύργων

κτῆρη πρόσθε τὰ δημοσπληθῇ

Μοῖρ' ἀλαπάξει πρὸς τὸ βίαιον.

οἶον μὴ τις \*ἄγα θεόθεν κνεφάσῃ προτυπὲν στόμιον

μέγα Τροίας

στρατωθέν. \*οἰκῶ γὰρ ἐπίφθονος Ἄρτεμις ἀγνὰ

πτανοῖσιν κυσὶ πατρός,

αὐτότοκον πρὸ λόχου μογερὰν πτάκα θυομένοισι·

στυγεῖ δὲ δεῖπνον αἰετῶν.

αἶλινον αἶλινον εἰπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.

+ τόσον περ εὐφρων, καλὰ,

μεσφδ. 140

106. πειθοὶ Campbell. μολπᾶν MSS.

118. ἐρικύματα φέρματι

M.G. ἐρικύμονα φέρματι B. ἐρικύμονα φέρβοντο Fl. Fa. 122.

λήμασι δισσοῦς MSS. 131. ἄτα MSS. corr. H. 135. οἰκῶ MSS.

corr. Scal. 140. ἢ καλὰ Fa.

\*δρόσοισι λέπτοις μαλερῶν λεόντων,  
 πάντων τ' ἀγρονόμων φιλομάστοις  
 θηρῶν ὀβρικάλοισι, τερπνὰ,  
 τούτων \* αἶνει ξύμβολα κράναι,  
 δεξιὰ μὲν, κατάμομφα δὲ φάσματα [στρουθῶν]. 145  
 ἰήιον δὲ καλέω Παιᾶνα,

μή τις ἀντιπνόους Δαναοῖς χρονίας ἔχενῆδας  
 ἀπλοίας τεύξῃ; 150

σπενδομένα θυσίαν ἑτέραν, ἄνομόν τιν', ἄδαιτον,  
 νεικέων τέκτονα σύμφυτον,

οὐ δεισῆνορα, μέμνει γὰρ φοβερὰ παλινόρτος,  
 οἰκονόμος δολία, μνάμων μῆνις τεκνόποινος.

τοιᾶδε Κάλχας ξὺν μεγάλοις ἀγαθοῖς ἀπέκλαγξεν  
 μόρσιμ' ἀπ' ὀρνίθων ὁδίῳ οἴκοις βασιλείοις·  
 τοῖς δ' ὁμόφωνον

αἶλινον αἶλινον εἶπέ, τὸ δ' εὖ νικάτω.  
 Ζεὺς, ὅστις ποτ' ἔστιν, εἰ τόδ' αὖ· στρ. β'. 160

τῷ φίλον κεκλημένῳ,  
 τοῦτό νιν προσενέπω.

οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι,  
 πάντ' ἐπιστραθμώμενος,

πλὴν Διός, εἰ τὸ μάταν ἀπὸ φροντίδος ἄχθος 165  
 χρὴ βαλεῖν ἐτητύμως.

οὐδ' ὅστις πάροιθεν ἦν μέγας, ἀντ. β'.  
 παμμάχῳ θράσει βρύων,

\*οὐδὲ λέξεται πρὶν ὧν, 170  
 ὃς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν, τρια-

κτῆρος οἴχεται τυχῶν.

141. λέπτοις B. Fl. ἀλέπτοις M.G. ἀέπτοις Fa. corr. Well.  
 ὄντων M. Fl. 144. αἰτέ MSS. corr. Gilbert. 170. οὐδὲν λέξαι  
 M G.B.Fl. οὐδὲν τι λέξαι Fa. corr. Ahrens.

Ζῆνα δέ τις προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλάζων  
 τεύξεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν· 175  
 τὸν φρονεῖν βροτοὺς ὁδῶ- 4 στρ. γ'.  
 σαντα, \*τὸν πάθει μάθος 7  
 θέντα κυρίως ἔχειν.  
 στάζει δ' ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ πρὸ καρδίας  
 μνησιπῆμων πόνος· καὶ παρ' ἄ- 180  
 κοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν.  
 δαιμόνων δέ που χάρις \*βίαιος, 4  
 σέλμα σεμνὸν ἡμένων.  
 καὶ τόθ' ἡγεμὼν ὁ πρέσ- 185  
 βυς νεῶν Ἀχαιϊκῶν,  
 μάντιν οὔτινα ψέγων,  
 ἐμπαλοῖς τύχαισι συμπνέων,  
 εὖτ' ἀπλοῖα κεναγγεῖ βαρύ-  
 νοντ' Ἀχαιϊκὸς λεῶς,  
 Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων παλιρρόχ- 190  
 θοις ἐν Αὐλίδος τόποις,  
 πνοαὶ δ' ἀπὸ Στρυμόνος μολοῦσαι στρ. δ'.  
 κακόσχολοί, νήστιδες, δύσορμοι  
 βροτῶν ἅλῃ, νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων ἀφειδεῖς, 195  
 παλιμμήκη χρόνον τιθεῖσαι  
 τρίβῳ κατέξαινον ἄνθος \*Ἀργους  
 ἐπεὶ δὲ καὶ πικροῦ  
 χείματος ἄλλο μῆχαρ 1  
 βριθύτερον πρόμοισιν  
 μάντις ἐκλαγξεν, προφέρων Ἀρτεμιν, ὥστε χθόνα βά-  
 κτροις ἐπικρούσαντας Ἀτρείδας δάκρυ μὴ κατασχεῖν.  
 ἄναξ δ' ὁ πρέσβυς \*τότ' εἶπε φωνῶν· 205  
 205

177. τῷ MSS.  
 γείων MSS. corr. H.

182. βιαίως MSS. corr. Turn.  
 205. τόδ' MSS. corr. Stanl.

197. Ἀρ-

βαρεία μὲν κῆρ τὸ μὴ πιθέσθαι,  
 βαρεία, δ', εἰ τέκνον δαΐζω, δόμων ἀγαλμα,  
 μαινῶν παρθενοσφάγοισι  
 ρείθροισι πατρῶνους χέρας \*πρὸ βωμοῦ. 210  
 τί τῶνδ' ἄνευ κακῶν;  
 πῶς λιπόναντος γένωμαι,  
 ζυμαχίας ἀμαρτῶν;  
 παυσανέμου γὰρ θυσίας παρθένου θ' αἵματος ὄρ-  
 γῇ \*περιόργω σφ' ἐπιθυμείν θέμις. εὖ γὰρ εἶη. 216  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνάγκας ἔδω λέπαδνον,  
 στρ. ε'.  
 φρενὸς πνέων δυσσεβῇ τροπαίαν  
 ἀναγνῶν, ἀνιερὸν, τόθεν 220  
 τὸ παντότολμον φρονεῖν μετέγνω.  
 \*βροτῶν θρασύνει γὰρ αἰσχρομήτης  
 τάλαινα παρακόπῃ,  
 πρωτοπήμων. ἔτλα δ' οὖν  
 θυτὴρ γενέσθαι θυγατρὸς γυναικοποιῶν πολέμων  
 ἄρωγαν 225  
 καὶ προτέλεια ναῶν.  
 λιτὰς δὲ καὶ κληδόνας πατρῶνους 226  
 παρ' οὐδὲν αἰῶνα παρθένοιόν τ'  
 ἔθεντο φιλόμαχοι βραβῆς, 230  
 φράσεν δ' ἄλοῖσι πατὴρ μετ' εὐχάν,  
 δίκαν χιμαίρας ὑπερθε βωμοῦ  
 πέπλοισι περιπετῇ,  
 παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῇ 234  
 λαβεῖν ἀέρδην, στόματός τε καλλιπρῶρου \*φυλακῇ  
 κατασχεῖν  
 φθόγγον ἀραίῳ οἴκοις,

210. βωμοῦ πέλας MSS. corr. Schöm.

212. τε γένωμαι M. G. Fl.

216. περιόργως MSS. corr. Schöm.

222. βροτοῖς MSS.

235.

φυλακάν MSS.



βίῃ χαλινῶν τ' ἀναύδῳ μένει.

στρ. 5'.

κρόκου βαφὰς δ' ἐς πέδον χέουσα

ἔβαλλ' ἑκαστον θυτήρων ἀπ' ὀμματος βέλει φιλοίκτῳ, 240

πρέπουσά θ' ὥς ἐν γραφαῖς, προσεννέπειν

θέλουσ', ἐπεὶ πολλάκις

πατὴρ δὲ κατ' ἀνδρῶνας εὐτραπέζους

ἔμελψεν, \* ἀγνῆ δ' ἀταύρωτος αὐδῆ πατὴρ δὲ

φίλου τριτόσπονδον εὐποτομον

245

\* παιῶνα φίλως ἐτίμα.

τὰ δ' ἐνθεν οὐτ' εἶδον οὐτ' ἐννέπω·

ἀντ. 5'.

τέχνη δὲ Κάλχαντος οὐκ ἄκραντοι.

δίκαι δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν ἐπιρρέπει· τὸ

μέλλον \* δ'

250

ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις, \* πρὸ χαιρέτω·

ἴσον δὲ τῷ προστένειν.

τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει \* σύνορθρον αὐγαῖς.

πέλειτο δ' οὖν τὰ πρὸς τούτοις ἐνπραξίς, ὥς

255

θέλει τόδ' ἀγχιστον Ἀπίας

γαίας μονόφρουρον ἔρκος

ἦκω σεβίζων σόν, Κλυταιμνήστρα, κράτος·

δίκη γάρ ἐστι φωτὸς ἀρχηγοῦ τίειν

γυναικ' ἐρημωθέντος ἀρσένος θρόνου.

260

σὺ δ' \* εἴ τι κεδνὸν εἴτε μὴ πεπυσμένη

εὐαγγέλοις ἐλπίσιν θυηπολεῖς,

κλύοιμ' ἂν εὐφρων· οὐδὲ σιγῶσιν φθόνος.

## ΚΛΥΤΑΙΜΝΗΣΤΡΑ.

εὐάγγελος μὲν, ὥσπερ ἡ παροιμία,

244. ἀγνῆ M. ἀγνῆ Fa.

246. αἰῶνα MSS. corr. Hart.

250. τὸ δὲ προκλύειν after μέλλον B. Fl. G. and M. by later hand.

251. προχαιρέτω MSS. corr. Eng.

254. συνορθὸν αὐταῖς G. B. M.

σύννορθον Fl. Fa. corr. Well. H.

261. εἴτε MSS.

- ξως γένοιτο μητρὸς εὐφρόνης πάρα. 265  
 πεύσει δὲ χάρμα μείζον ἐλπίδος κλύειν.  
 Πριάμου γὰρ ἤρήκασιν Ἀργεῖοι πόλιν.  
 ΧΟ. πῶς φῆς; πέφευγε τοῦπος ἐξ ἀπιστίας.  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιῶν οὔσαν ἢ τορῶς λέγω;  
 ΧΟ. χάρά μ' ὑφέρπει δάκρυον ἐκκαλουμένη. 270  
 ΚΛ. εὖ γὰρ φρονούντος ὄμμα σοῦ κατηγορεῖ.  
 ΧΟ. τί γὰρ τὸ πιστόν; ἔστι τῶνδ' εἰ σοι τέκμαρ;  
 ΚΛ. ἔστιν, τί δ' οὐχί; μὴ δολώσαντος θεοῦ.  
 ΧΟ. πότερα δ' ὀνείρων φάσματ' εὐπειθὴ σέβεις;  
 ΚΛ. οὐ δόξαν ἂν λάβοιμι βριζούσης φρενός. 275  
 ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἢ σ' ἐπ' αἰνέει τις ἄπτερος φάτις;  
 ΚΛ. παιδὸς νέας ὥς κάρτ' ἐμωμήσω φρένας.  
 ΧΟ. ποίου χρόνου δὲ καὶ πεπόρθηται πόλις;  
 ΚΛ. τῆς νῦν τεκούσης φῶς τὸδ' εὐφρόνης λέγω.  
 ΧΟ. καὶ τίς τὸδ' ἐξίκοιτ' ἂν ἀγγέλων τάχος; 280  
 ΚΛ. Ἡφαιστος Ἰδης λαμπρὸν ἐκπέμπων σέλας.  
 — φρυκτὸς δὲ φρυκτὸν δεῦρ' ἀπ' ἀγγέλου πυρὸς  
 — ἐπεμπεν· Ἰδῆ μὲν πρὸς Ἑρμαῖον λέπας  
 Δήμνον· μέγαν δὲ πάνδ' ἐκ νήσου τρίτον  
 + Ἀθῶν αἰπὸς Ζηνὸς ἐξεδέξατο, 285  
 ὑπέρτελής τε, πόντον ὥστε νῶτ' ἵσαι,  
 † ἰσχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος πρὸς ἠδονῇν  
 \* πέμπει τὸ χρυσοφεγγὲς ὥς τις ἥλιος  
 σέλας παραγγείλασα Μακίστῳ \* σκοπαῖς·†  
 — ὁ δ' οὔτι μέλλων οὐδ' ἀφρασμόνως ὕπνω 290  
 νικώμενος παρήκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος·  
 ἐκὰς δὲ φρυκτοῦ φῶς ἐπ' Εὐρίπου ῥοὰς  
 Μεσσαπίου φύλαξι σημαίνει μολόν.  
 — οἱ δ' ἀντέλαμψαν καὶ παρήγγειλαν πρόσω

282. ἀγγέλου MSS. 288. πύκη MSS. πέμπει Eng. προῖκετο  
 K. ἐπέντο Keck. 289. σκοπὰς MSS.

γράλας ἐρείκης θωμόν ἄψαντες πυρί. 295  
 σθένουσα λαμπὰς δ' οὐδέπω μαυρούμενη,  
 ὑπερθόρουσα πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ, δίκην  
 φαίδρας σελήνης, πρὸς Κιθαιρώνας λέπας  
 ἤγειρεν ἄλλην ἐκδοχὴν πομποῦ πυρός.  
 φάος δὲ τηλέπομπον οὐκ ἠναίνετο 300  
 φρουρά, † πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων·  
 λίμνην δ' ὑπὲρ Γοργῶπιν ἔσκηψεν φάος·  
 ὄρος τ' ἐπ' Αἰγίπλαγκτον ἐξικνούμενον  
 ὠτρυνε θεσμὸν \* μὴ χατίζεσθαι πυρός.  
 πέμπουσι δ' ἀνδάλοντες ἀφθόῳ μένει 305  
 φλογὸς μέγαν πῶγωνα, καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ  
 πορθμοῦ \* κάτοπτον πρῶν ὑπερβάλλειν πρόσω  
 φλέγουσαν, \* ἔστ' ἔσκηψεν, \* εὐτ' ἀφίκετο  
 Ἀραχναῖον αἶπος, ἀστυγείονας σκοπὰς·  
 κἄπειτ' Ἀτρειδῶν ἐς τόδε σκήπτει στέγος 310  
 φάος τόδ' οὐκ ἄπακπον Ἰδαίου πυρός.  
 τοιοῦδε τοί μοι λαμπαδηφόρων νόμοι,  
 ἄλλος παρ' ἄλλου διαδοχαῖς πληρούμενοί·  
 νικᾷ δ' ὁ πρῶτος καὶ τελευταῖος δραμών.  
 τέκμαρ τοιοῦτο ξύμβολόν τε σοὶ λέγω, 315  
 ἀνδρὸς παραγγέλαντος ἐκ Τροίας ἐμοί.  
 XO. θεοῖς μὲν αὖθις, ὦ γύναι, προσεύξομαι.  
 λόγους δ' ἀκοῦσαι τούσδε κάποθαυμάσαι  
 διηνεκῶς θέλοιμ' ἂν ὥς λέγοις πάλιν.  
 ΚΛ. Τροίαν Ἀχαιοὶ τῇδ' ἔχουσ' ἐν ἡμέρᾳ. 320  
 οἶμαι βοήν ἄμικτον ἐν πόλει πρέπειν.  
 ὄξος τ' ἄλειφά τ' ἐγχείας ταυτῶ κύτει  
 διχοστατοῦντ' ἂν οὐ φίλως προσεννέποις.

301. sic MSS. 304. δὴ χαρίζεσθαι Fa. μὴ χαρίζεσθαι M.G.B.  
 Fl. 307. κάτοπτον MSS. 308. εἶτ' . . . εἶτ' MSS. 319. λέγεις B.

καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων δίχα  
 φθογγὰς ἀκούειν ἔστι συμφορᾶς διπλῆς. 325  
 οἱ μὲν γὰρ ἀμφὶ σώμασιν πεπτωκότες  
 ἀνδρῶν κασιγνήτων τε καὶ φυταλμίων  
 παῖδες γερόντων, οὐκέτ' ἐξ ἐλευθέρου  
 δέρης ἀποιμώζουσι φιλτάτων μόρον·  
 τοὺς δ' αὖτε νυκτίπλαγκτος ἐκ μάχης πόνος 330  
 νήσταις πρὸς ἀρίστοισιν ὧν ἔχει πόλις  
 τάσσει, πρὸς οὐδὲν ἐν μέρει τεκμήριον,  
 ἀλλ' ὥς ἕκαστος ἔσπασεν τύχης πάλον.  
 ἐν δ' αἰχμαλώτοις Τρωικοῖς οἰκήμασι  
 ναίουσιν ἤδη, τῶν ὑπαιθρίων πάγων 335  
 δρόσων τ' ἀπαλλαγέντες, ὥς \*δ' εὐδαίμονες  
 ἀφύλακτον εὐδήσουσι πᾶσαν εὐφρόνην.  
 εἰ δ' εὖ σέβουσι τοὺς πολιισούχους θεοὺς  
 τοὺς τῆς ἀλούσης γῆς θεῶν θ' ἰδρύματα,  
 οὗ \*τᾶν ἐλόντες αὖθις \*ἀνθαλοῖεν ἄν. 340  
 ἔρως δὲ μὴ τις πρότερον ἐμπλήτη στρατῷ  
 πορθεῖν ἢ μὴ χρή, κέρδεσιν νικωμένους.  
 δεῖ γὰρ πρὸς οἴκους νοστήμου σωτηρίας  
 κάμψαι διαύλου θάτερον κῶλον πάλιν·  
 θεοῖς δ' ἀναμπλάκτης εἰ μόλοι στρατός, 345  
 ἐγρηγορὸς τὸ πῆμα τῶν ὀλωλότων  
 γένοιτ' ἄν, εἰ πρόσπαια μὴ τύχοι κακά.  
 τοιαῦτά τοι γυναικὸς ἐξ ἐμοῦ κλύεις·  
 τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη, μὴ διχορρόπως ἰδεῖν.  
 πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν \*τῆνδ' ὄνησιν εἰλόμην· 350  
 XO. γύναι, κατ' ἄνδρα σῶφρον' εὐφρόνως λέγεις.  
 ἐγὼ δ' ἀκούσας πιστά σου τεκμήρια

331. νήσταισι B. νήστις Fl. 336. δυσδαίμονες MSS. 340. ἄν  
 γ' ἐλόντες or ἀνελόντες and ἄν θάνοιεν or αὐ θάνοιεν MSS. corr. Aug. H.  
 341. ἐμπλήτει B. -ει Fa. -η corrected to -η Fl. 350. τῆν MSS.

θεοὺς προσειπεῖν εὖ παρασκευάζο,  
 χάρις γὰρ οὐκ ἄτιμος εἵργασται  
 ᾧ Ζεῦ βασιλεῦ καὶ νύξ φιλία  
 μεγάλων κόσμων κτεάτειρα,  
 ἦτ' ἐπὶ Τροίας πύργοις ἔβαλες  
 στεγανὸν δίκτυον, ὥς μήτε μέγαν  
 μήτ' οὖν νεαρῶν τιν' ὑπερτελέσαι  
 μέγα δουλείας  
 γάγγαμον, ἄτης παναλώτου.  
 Δία τοι ξένιον μέγαν αἰδοῦμαι  
 τὸν τάδε πράξαντ', ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῃ  
 τείνοντα πάλαι τόξον, ὅπως ἂν  
 μήτε πρὸ καιροῦ μήθ' ὑπὲρ ἄστροι  
 βέλος ἡλίθιον σκήψειεν.  
 Διὸς πλαγὰν ἔχουσιν εἰπεῖν,  
 πάρεστιν τοῦτό γ' ἐξιχνεῦσαι.  
 \*ἔπραξαν ὥς ἔκρανεν. οὐκ ἔφα  
 θεοὺς βροτῶν ἀξιούσθαι μέλειν  
 ὅσοις ἀθίκτων χάρις  
 πατοῖθ'. ὁ δ' οὐκ εὖσεβής.  
 πέφαιται δ' \*ἐκτίνου-  
 σα τόλμα τῶν Ἄρη  
 πνεόντων μείζον ἢ δικαίως,  
 φλεόντων δωμάτων ὑπέρφεν  
 ὑπὲρ τὸ βέλτιστον. ἔστω δ' ἀπ  
 μαντον, ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν  
 εὖ πραπίδων λαχόντα.  
 οὐ γάρ ἐστιν ἐπαλξίς

368. πάρεστι MSS. πάρεστιν Eng. 369.  
 MSS. corr. Franz. 374. ἐγγόνους ἀτολήμων  
 μήτως H. text Hart. 379. ὥστε κἀπαρκεῖν F

πλούτου πρὸς κόρον ἀνδρὶ  
 λακτίσαντι μέγαν δίκας βωμὸν εἰς ἀφάνειαν.  
 βιάται δ' ἅ τάλαινα πειθῶ, ἀντ. α'. 385  
 \*προβούλου παῖς ἄφερτος ἄτας.  
 ἄκος δὲ πᾶν μάταιον. οὐκ ἐκρύφθη,  
 πρέπει δέ, φῶς αἰνολαμπές, σίνος·  
 κακοῦ δὲ χαλκοῦ τρόπον 390  
 τρίβῃ τε καὶ προσβολαῖς  
 μελαμπαγῆς πέλει  
 δικαιωθείς, ἐπεὶ  
 διώκει παῖς ποτανὸν ὄρνιν,  
 πόλει πρόστριμ' ἄφερτον ἐνθείς. 395  
 λιτᾶν δ' ἀκούει μὲν οὔτις θεῶν·  
 τὸν δ' ἐπίστροφον \*τῶν  
 φῶτ' ἄδικον καθαιρεῖ.  
 οἶος καὶ Πάρις ἐλθὼν  
 ἐς δόμον τὸν Ἀτρειδᾶν 400  
 ἥσυχνε ξενίαν τράπεζαν κλοπαῖσι γυναικός.  
 λιποῦσα δ' ἀστοῖσιν ἀσπίτοράς στρ. β'.  
 \*τε καὶ κλόνο<sup>ν</sup>ς λογχίμους ναυβάτας \*θ' ὀπλισμούς,  
 ἄγουσά τ' ἀντίφερνον Ἰλίῳ φθοράν, 406  
 βέβακεν ῥίμφα διὰ πυλᾶν,  
 ἄτλητα τλᾶσα· πολλὰ δ' ἔστενον  
 τόδ' ἐννέποντες δόμων προφήται·  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ δῶμα δῶμα καὶ πρόμοι, 410  
 ἰὼ λέχος καὶ στίβοι φιλόνορες. †  
 †\*πάρεστι σιγὰς ἀτίμους ἀλοιδόρους  
 \*αἰσχιστ' ἀφειμένων ἰδεῖν.†

386. προβούλου MSS. corr. Hart. 397. τῶνδ' MSS. corr. Klaus.  
 405. κλόνο<sup>ν</sup>ς λογχίμους τε καὶ MSS. omit θ' MSS. corr. H. 412.  
 σιγᾶς ἀτίμος ἀλοιδορος ἀδιστος ἀφεμένων MSS. corr. H.

πόθῳ δ' ὑπερποντίας  
 φάσμα δόξει δόμων ἀνάσσειν. 415  
 εὐμόρφων δὲ κολοσσῶν  
 ἔχθεται χάρις ἀνδρῖ.  
 ὀμμάτων δ' ἐν ἀχηνίαις ἔρρει πᾶσ' Ἀφροδίτα.  
 ὀνειρόφαντοι δὲ πενθήμονες ἀντ. β'. 420  
 πάρεισι δόξαι φέρουσαι χάριν ματαίαν.  
 μάταν γὰρ εὖτ' ἂν ἐσθλά τις δοκῶν \* ὀρᾷ,  
 παραλλάξασα διὰ χερῶν,  
 βέβακεν ὄψις οὐ μεθύστερον 425  
 πτεροῖς ὀπαδοῖς ὕπνου κελεύθοις.  
 τὰ μὲν κατ' οἴκους ἐφ' ἐστίας ἄχῃ  
 τὰδ' ἐστὶ καὶ τῶνδ' ὑπερβατώτερα.  
 τὸ πᾶν δ' ἀφ' \* Ἑλλανος αἴας συννορμένοις  
 πένθεια τλησικάρδιος 430  
 δόμων ἐκάστου πρόπει.  
 πολλὰ γοῦν θιγγάνει πρὸς ἡπαρ·  
 οἷς μὲν γάρ \* τις ἔπεμψεν  
 οἶδεν· ἀντὶ δὲ φωτῶν  
 τεύχη καὶ σποδὸς εἰς ἐκάστου δόμους ἀφικνεῖται.  
 ὁ χρυσαμοιβὸς δ' Ἀρης σωμάτων στρ. γ'. 436  
 καὶ ταλαντοῦχος ἐν μάχῃ δορὸς  
 πυρῶθεν ἐξ Ἰλίου 440  
 φίλοισι πέμπει βαρὺν  
 ψῆγμα δυσδάκρυτον ἀν-  
 τήνορος σποδοῦ γεμί-  
 ζων λέβητας \* εὐθέτους.  
 στένουσι δ' εὖ λέγοντες ἄνδρα τὸν μὲν ὥς 445

423. ὀρᾶν MSS. ὀρᾷ Eng. K.  
 \* Ἑλλάδος MSS. corr. Bamberg.

426. ὀπαδοῦς' Dobr. 429.  
 433. τις om. MSS. corr. Pors.

444. εὐθέτου MSS. corr. Aur.

μάχης ἴδρις· τὸν δ' ἐν φοναῖς καλῶς πεσόντ'  
 ἄλλοτρίας \* διαὶ γυναικός· \* τὰ δὲ σίγά τις βαυ-  
 ζεῖ· φθονερὸν δ' ὑπ' ἄλγος ἔρπει προδῆκοις Ἀτρεΐδαις.  
 οἱ δ' αὐτοῦ περὶ τείχος 450

θήκας Ἰλιάδος γᾶς  
 εὐμορφοὶ κατέχουσιν· ἐχθρὰ δ' ἔχοντας ἔκρυψεν.  
 βαρεῖα δ' ἀστῶν φάτις ξὺν κότῳ· ἀντ. γ'. 456

δημοκράντου δ' ἀρᾶς τίνει χρέος.  
 μένει δ' ἀκοῦσαί τί μου  
 μέριμνα νυκτηρεφές. 460

τῶν πολυκτόνων γὰρ οὐκ  
 ἄσκοποι θεοί· κελαι-  
 ναὶ δ' Ἐρινύες χρόνῳ  
 τυχηρὸν ὄντ' ἄνευ δίκας παλιτυχεῖ  
 τριβᾷ βίου τιθεῖσ' ἀμαυρόν, ἐν δ' ἀτ- 465  
 στοῖς τελέθοντος οὔτις ἀλκά· τὸ δ' \* ὑπερκόπως  
 κλύειν

εὖ βαρύ· βάλλεται γὰρ ὅσσοις διόθεν κεραυνός. 470  
 κρίνω δ' ἀφθονον ὄλβον.  
 μήτ' εἶην πτολιπόρθης  
 μήτ' οὖν αὐτὸς ἀλοὺς ὑπ' ἄλλων βίον κατίδοιμι.  
 πυρὸς δ' ὑπ' εὐαγγέλῳ ἐπφδ. 475

πόλιν διήκει θοὰ  
 βάξις· εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως,  
 τίς οἶδεν, ἥ \* τι θεῖόν ἐστί \* πῇ ψύθος.  
 τίς ᾧδε παιδνὸς ἥ φρενῶν κεκομμένος,  
 φλογὸς παραγγέλμασιν 480  
 νέοις πυρωθέντα καρδίαν, ἔπειτ'  
 ἀλλαγᾷ λόγου καμεῖν;

447. διὰ MSS. τάδε MSS. corr. H. 467. ὑπερκόπως MSS.  
 478. τοι . . . μὴ MSS. corr. Ahr. 482. λόγους Fl. text Fa.



γυναικὸς αἰχμῇ πρέπει,  
 πρὸ τοῦ φανέντος χάριν ξυναινέσαι.  
 πιθαῖος ἄγαν ὁ θῆλυς ὄρος ἐπινέμεται 485  
 ταχύπορος· ἀλλὰ ταχύμορον  
 γυναικογήρυτον ὀλλυται κλέος.  
 τάχ' εἰσόμεσθα λαμπάδων φαεσφόρων  
 φρυκτωριῶν τε καὶ πυρὸς παραλλαγάς, 490  
 εἴτ' οὖν ἀληθεῖς εἴτ' ὄνειράτων δίκην  
 τερπνὸν τόδ' ἔλθον φῶς ἐφήλωσεν φρένας.  
 κήρυκ' ἀπ' ἀκτῆς τόνδ' ὀρώ κατὰσκιον  
 κλάδοις ἐλαίας· μαρτυρεῖ δέ μοι κάσις  
 πῆλου ξύνουρος διψία κόνις τάδε, 495  
 ὥς οὗτ' ἀναυδος οὔτε σοι δαίμων φλόγα  
 ὕλης ὀρέας σημανεῖ καπνῷ πυρός,  
 ἀλλ' ἢ τὸ χαίρειν μᾶλλον ἐκβάξει λέγων·  
 τὸν ἀντίον δὲ τοῖσδ' ἀποστέργω λόγον·  
 εὖ γὰρ πρὸς εὖ φανείσι προσθήκη πέλοι. 500  
 δοστις τὰδ' ἄλλως τῇδ' ἐπεύχεται πόλει,  
 αὐτὸς φρενῶν καρποῖτο τὴν ἁμαρτίαν.

## ΚΗΡΥΞ.

ἰὼ πατρῶον οὐδας Ἀργείας χθονός,  
 δεκάτῳ σε φέγγει τῷδ' ἀφικόμην ἔτους,  
 πολλῶν ῥαγεισῶν ἐλπίδων μιᾶς τυχών. 505  
 οὐ γάρ ποτ' ἤϋχουν τῇδ' ἐν Ἀργεῖα χθονὶ  
 θανῶν μεθέξειν φιλτάτου τάφου μέρος.  
 νῦν χαῖρε μὲν χθών, χαῖρε δ' ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὑπατός τε χώρας Ζεὺς, ὁ Πύθιός τ' ἀναξ,  
 τόξοις ἰάπτων μηκέτ' εἰς ἡμᾶς βέλη· 510

ἄλις παρὰ Σκάμανδρον \* ἦσθ' ἀνάρσιος·  
 νῦν δ' αὖτε σωτὴρ ἴσθι \* καὶ παιώνιος,  
 ἄναξ Ἀπολλων. τοὺς τ' ἀγωνίους θεοὺς  
 πάντας προσανῶ, τὸν τ' ἐμὸν τιμᾶορον  
 Ἑρμῆν, φίλον κήρυκα, κηρύκων σέβας, 515  
 ἥρωες τε τοὺς πέμψαντας, εὐμενεῖς πάλιν  
 στρατὸν δέχεσθαι τὸν λελειμμένον δορός.  
 ἰὼ μέλαθρα βασιλέων, φίλαι στέγαι,  
 σεμνοὶ τε θᾶκοι, δαίμονές τ' ἀντήλιοι,  
 \* εἴ που πάλαι, φαιδροῖσι τοισὶδ' ὄμμασι 520  
 δέξασθε κόσμῳ βασιλέα πολλῶ χρόνῳ.  
 ἦκει γὰρ ὑμῖν φῶς ἐν εὐφρόνῃ φέρων  
 καὶ τοῖσδ' ἅπασιν κοινὸν Ἀγαμέμνων ἄναξ.  
 ἀλλ' εὖ νῦν ἀσπάσασθε, καὶ γὰρ οὖν πρέπει,  
 Τροίαν κατασκάψαντα τοῦ δικηφόρου 525  
 Διὸς μακέλλῃ, τῇ κατείργασται πέδον.  
 βωμοὶ δ' αἴστοι καὶ θεῶν ἰδρύματα,  
 καὶ σπέρμα πάσης ἐξαπόλλυται χθονός.  
 τοιόνδε Τροίᾳ περιβαλὼν ζευκτήριον  
 ἄναξ Ἀτρείδης πρέσβυς εὐδαίμων ἀνὴρ 530  
 ἦκει, τίεσθαι δ' ἀξιώτατος βροτῶν  
 τῶν νῦν. Πάρις γὰρ οὔτε συντελὴς πόλις  
 ἐξεύχεται τὸ δρᾶμα τοῦ πάθους πλέον.  
 ὀφλὼν γὰρ ἀρπαγῆς τε καὶ κλοπῆς δίκην  
 τοῦ ῥυσίου θ' ἤμαρτε καὶ πανώλεθρον 535  
 αὐτόχθονον πατρῶον ἔθρισεν δόμον.  
 διπλᾶ δ' ἔτισαν Πριαμίδαι θάμάρτια.  
 ΧΟ. κῆρυξ Ἀχαιῶν χαίρε τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ.  
 ΚΗ. χαίρω \* γε· τεθνάναι δ' οὐκ ἔτ' ἀντερῶ θεοῖς.

511. ἦλθες Fa. ἦλθ', with -es superscribed Fl. 512. καὶ παγώνιος Fl. κἀπαγώνιος Fa. corr. Dobr. Ahr. 520. ἦπου MSS. 539. χαίρω· τεθνάναι MSS. corr. Eng.

- XO. ἔρως πατρώας τῆσδε γῆς σ' ἐγύμνασεν ; 540  
 ΚΗ. ὥστ' ἐνδακρύνει γ' ὄμμασιν χαρᾶς ὕπο.  
 XO. τερπνῆς ἄρ' ἦτε τῆσδ' ἐπήβολοι νόσου.  
 ΚΗ. πῶς δῆ ; διδαχθεῖς τοῦδε δεσπόσω λόγου.  
 XO. τῶν ἀντερώντων ἱμέρῳ \* πεπληγμένοι.  
 ΚΗ. ποθεῖν ποθοῦντα τήνδε γῆν στρατὸν λέγεις ; 545  
 XO. ὥς πόλλ' ἀμαυρᾶς ἐκ φρενός μ' ἀναστένειν.  
 ΚΗ. πόθεν τὸ δύσφρον τοῦτ' ἐπῆν στύγος \* φρενῶν ;  
 XO. πάλαι τὸ σιγᾶν φάρμακον βλάβης ἔχω.  
 ΚΗ. καὶ πῶς ; ἀπόντων κοιράνων ἔτρεῖς τινάς ; —  
 XO. \* ὥς νῦν τὸ σὸν δῆ, καὶ θανεῖν πολλὴ χάρις. 550  
 ΚΗ. εὖ γὰρ πέπρακται. ταῦτα δ' ἐν πολλῷ χρόνῳ  
 τὰ μὲν τις \* ἂν λέξειεν εὐπετῶς ἔχειν,  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε κἀπίμομφα. τίς δὲ πλὴν θεῶν  
 ἀπαντ' ἀπήμων τὸν δι' αἰῶνος χρόνον ;  
 μόχθους γὰρ εἰ λέγοιμι καὶ δυσανθίας, 555  
 σπαρνὰς παρήξεις καὶ κακοστρώτους, τί δ' οὐ  
 στένοντες, οὐ † λαχόντες ἡματος μέρος ;  
 τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσῳ καὶ προσῆν, πλέον στύγος·  
 εὐναὶ γὰρ ἦσαν δαίτων πρὸς τεύχεσιν·  
 ἐξ οὐρανοῦ δὲ κἀπὸ γῆς λειμώνιαί 560  
 † δρόσοι κατεψάκαζον, ἔμπεδον σίνος  
 ἐσθημάτων, τιθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα.  
 χειμῶνα δ' εἰ λέγοι τις οἰωνοκτόνον,  
 οἶον παρεῖχ' ἄφερτον Ἰδαία χιῶν,  
 ἢ θάλπος, εὔτε πόντος ἐν μεσημβριναῖς 565  
 κοίταις ἀκύμων νηνέμοις εὐδοὶ πεσών·  
 τί ταῦτα πευθεῖν δεῖ ; παροίχεται πόνος·

541. ἐκδ. Fa. 542. ἴστε Fl. 544. πεπληγμένοι MSS. 547.  
 στρατῷ MSS. corrupt. φρενῶν H. 550. ἂν MSS. corr. Scal.  
 552. εὖ MSS. 557. λαχόντες corrupt. Perhaps πάσχοντες or  
 κλαίοντες, or ἀσχάλλοντες for οὐ λαχόντες Marg.

παροίχεται δέ, τοῖσι μὲν τεθυκόσιν  
 τὸ μήποτ' αὖθις μηδ' ἀναστήναι μέλειν.  
 τί τοὺς ἀναλωθέντας ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν, 570  
 τὸν ζῶντα δ' ἄλγειν χρητὴν τύχης παλιγκότου;  
 καὶ πολλὰ χαίρειν ξυμφοραῖς καταξιῶ.  
 ἡμῖν δὲ τοῖς λοιποῖσιν Ἀργείων στρατοῦ  
 νικᾷ τὸ κέρδος, πῆμα δ' οὐκ ἀντιρρέπει.  
 ὥς κομπάσαι τῷδ' εἰκὸς ἡλίου φάει, 575  
 ὑπὲρ θαλάσσης καὶ χθονὸς ποτωμένοις·  
 Τροίαν ἐλόντες δήποτ' Ἀργείων στόλος  
 θεοῖς λάφυρα ταῦτα τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα  
 δόμοις ἐπασσάλευσαν ἀρχαῖον γάνος.  
 τοιαῦτα χρητὴν κλύοντας εὐλογεῖν πόλιν 580  
 καὶ τοὺς στρατηγούς· καὶ χάρις τιμήσεται  
 Διὸς τόδ' ἐκπράξασα. πάντ' ἔχεις λόγον.

ΧΟ. νικώμενος λόγοισιν οὐκ ἀναίνομαι.

αἰὲ γὰρ ἤβᾱ τοῖς γέρουσιν εὖ μαθεῖν.  
 δόμοις δὲ ταῦτα καὶ Κλυταιμνήστρα μέλειν 585  
 εἰκὸς μάλιστα, ξὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ.

ΚΛ. ἀνωλόλυξα μὲν πάλαι χαρᾶς ὕπο,  
 ὅτ' ἦλθ' ὁ πρῶτος νύχιος ἄγγελος πυρός,  
 φράζων ἄλωσιν Ἴλιον τ' ἀνάστασιν.  
 καὶ τίς μ' ἐνέπτων εἶπε, φρυκτωρῶν δία 590  
 πεισθεῖσα Τροίαν νῦν πεπορθῆσθαι δοκεῖς;  
 ἡ κάρτα πρὸς γυναικὸς αἰρεσθαι κέαρ.  
 λόγοις τοιούτοις πλαγκτὸς οὖσ' ἐφαινόμην.  
 ὅμως δ' ἔθουν· καὶ γυναικείῳ νόμῳ  
 ὀλολυγμὸν ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν κατὰ πόλιν 595  
 ἔλασκον εὐφημοῦντες, ἐν θεῶν ἔδραις  
 θυφάγον κοιμῶντες εὐώδη φλόγα.  
 καὶ νῦν τὰ μᾶσσω μὲν τί δεῖ σ' ἐμοὶ λέγειν;  
 ἄνακτος αὐτοῦ πάντα πεύσομαι λόγον.

- ὅπως δ' ἄριστα τὸν ἐμὸν αἰδοῖον πόσιν 600  
 σπεύσω πάλιν μολόντα δέξασθαι—τί γὰρ  
 γυναικὶ τούτου φέγγος ἥδιον δρακεῖν,  
 ἀπὸ στρατείας ἀνδρὶ σῶσαντος θεοῦ  
 πύλας ἀνοῖξαι;—ταῦτ' ἀπάγγειλον πόσει·  
 ἦκειν ὅπως τάχιστ' ἐράσμιον πόλει. 605  
 γυναῖκα πιστὴν δ' ἐν δόμοις εὖροι μολῶν  
 οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, δωμάτων κύνα  
 ἐσθλὴν ἐκείνῃ, πολεμίαν τοῖς δύσφροσιν,  
 καὶ τᾶλλ' ὁμοίαν πάντα, σημαντήριον  
 οὐδὲν διαφθείραςαν ἐν μήκει χρόνου. 610  
 οὐδ' οἶδα τέρψιν οὐδ' ἐπίψογον φάτιν  
 ἄλλου πρὸς ἀνδρὸς μᾶλλον ἢ χαλκοῦ βαφάς.  
 τοιόσδ' ὁ κόμπος τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων  
 οὐκ αἰσχρὸς ὥς γυναικὶ γενναίᾳ λακεῖν.
- XO. αὕτη μὲν οὕτως εἶπε μανθάνοντί σοι 615  
 — τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν εὐπρεπῶς λόγον.  
 σὺ δ' εἰπέ, κῆρυξ, Μενέλεων δὲ πεύθομαι,  
 εἰ νόστιμός γε καὶ σεσωσμένος πάλιν  
 ἦξει ξὺν ὑμῖν, τῇσδε γῆς φίλον κράτος.
- KH. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῇ καλὰ 620  
 ἐς τὸν πολὺν φίλοισι καρποῦσθαι χρόνον.
- XO. πῶς δῆτ' ἂν εἰπὼν κεδνὰ τάληθῇ \* τύχοις;  
 σχισθέντα δ' οὐκ εὐκρυπτα γίγνεται τάδε.
- KH. ἀνὴρ ἄφαντος ἐξ Ἀχαιϊκοῦ στρατοῦ,  
 αὐτός τε καὶ τὸ πλοῖον. σὺ ψευδῇ λέγω. 625
- XO. πότερον ἀναχθεῖς ἐμφανῶς ἐξ Ἰλίου,  
 ἢ χεῖμα, κοινὸν ἄχθος, ἦρπασε στρατοῦ;  
 KH. ἔκυρσας ὥστε τοξότης ἄκρος σκοποῦ·

μακρὸν δὲ πῆμα ξυντόμως ἐφημίσω.

ΧΟ. πότερα γὰρ αὐτοῦ ζῶντος ἢ τεθνηκότος 630

φάτις πρὸς ἄλλων ναυτῶν ἐκλήζετο ;

ΚΗ. οὐκ οἶδεν οὐδεὶς ὥστ' ἀπαγγεῖλαι τορῶς,  
πλὴν τοῦ τρέφοντος Ἑλλίου χθονὸς φύσιν.

ΧΟ. πῶς γὰρ λέγεις χειμῶνα ναυτικῷ στρατῷ  
ἐλθεῖν τελευτῆσαι τε δαιμόνων κότῳ ; 635

ΚΗ. εὖφημον ἡμᾶρ οὐ πρέπει κακαγγέλῳ  
γλώσση μιαινεῖν· χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν.  
ὅταν δ' ἀπενκτὰ πῆματ' ἄγγελος πόλει  
στυγνῷ προσώπῳ πτωσίμου στρατοῦ φέρῃ,  
πόλει μὲν ἕλκος ἐν τῷ δήμιον τυχεῖν, 640

πολλοὺς δὲ πολλῶν ἐξαγισθέντας δόμων

ἄνδρας διπλῇ μάστιγι, τὴν Ἄρης φιλεῖ,

δίλογχον ἄτην, φοινίαν ξυνωρίδα·

τοιῶνδε μέντοι πημάτων \*σεσαγμένον

πρέπει λέγειν παιᾶνα τόνδ' Ἑρινύων· 645

σωτηρίων δὲ πραγμάτων εὐάγγελον

ἦκουτα πρὸς χαίρουσαν εὐεστοῖ πόλιν,

πῶς κεδνὰ τοῖς κακοῖσι συμμίσγω, λέγων

χειμῶν· \*Ἀχαιοῖς οὐκ ἀμήνιτον \*θεῶν ;

ξυνώμοσαν γάρ, ὄντες ἐχθιστοὶ τὸ πρίν, 650

πῦρ καὶ θάλασσα, καὶ τὰ πλὸς' ἐδειξάτην,

φθείροντε τὸν δύστηνον Ἀργείων στρατόν.

ἐν νυκτὶ δυσκύμαντα δ' ὠρώρει κακά.

ναῦς γὰρ πρὸς ἀλλήλαισι Θρήικαι πνοαὶ

ἤρεικον· αἱ δὲ κεροτυπούμεναι βία 655

χειμῶνι τυφῷ σὺν ζάλῃ τ' ὀμβροκτύπῳ

ῥχοντ' ἄφαντοι, ποιμένος κακοῦ στρόβυ.

644. σεσαγμένον MSS. 649. Ἀχαιῶν . . . θεοῖς MSS. corr.

Dobr. H. 655. ἤρειπον Fa. κερωτυπούμεναι MSS.

ἐπεὶ δ' ἀνῆλθε λαμπρὸν ἡλίου φάος,  
 ὀρώμεν ἀνθοῦν πέλαγος Αἰγαίου νεκροῖς  
 ἀνδρῶν Ἀχαιῶν ναυτικοῖς τ' ἐρειπίοις. 660  
 ἡμᾶς γε μὲν δὴ ναῦν τ' ἀκήρατον σκάφος  
 ἦτοι τις ἐξέκλεψεν ἢ ἔζητήσατο  
 θεός τις, οὐκ ἄνθρωπος, οἶακος θιγῶν.  
 τύχη δὲ σωτὴρ ναῦν θέλουσ' ἐφέζετο,  
 ὥς μήτ' ἐν ὄρμῃ κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν. 665  
 μήτ' ἐξοκεῖλαι πρὸς κραταίλεω<sup>ν</sup> χθόνα.  
 ἔπειτα δ' Αἰδὴν πόντιον πεφευγότες,  
 λευκὸν κατ' ἡμαρ, οὐ πεποιθότες τύχῃ,  
 ἐβουκολοῦμεν φροντίσιν νέον πάθος,  
 στρατοῦ καμόντος καὶ κακῶς σποδο<sup>ν</sup>μένου. 670  
 καὶ νῦν ἐκείνων εἴ τις ἐστὶν ἐμπνέων,  
 λέγουσιν ἡμᾶς ὥς ὀλωλότας, τί μή ;  
 ἡμεῖς τ' ἐκείνους ταῦτ' ἔχειν δοξάζομεν.  
 γένοιτο δ' ὥς ἄριστα. Μενέλεω<sup>ν</sup> γὰρ οὖν  
 πρῶτόν τε καὶ μάλιστα προσδῶκα μολεῖν. — 675  
 εἰ δ' οὖν τις ἀκτὶς ἡλίου νιν ἱστορεῖ  
 καὶ ζῶντα καὶ βλέποντα, μηχαναῖς Διός,  
 οὐπω θέλοντος ἐξαναλῶσαι γένος,  
 ἐλπίς τις αὐτὸν πρὸς δόμους ἦξειν πάλιν.  
 τοσαῦτ' ἀκούσας ἴσθι τάληθ' ἢ κλύων. 680  
 XO. τίς ποτ' ὠνόμαζεν ὧδ' στρ. α'.  
 ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτητύμως—  
 μή τις ὄντιν' οὐχ ὀρώ-  
 μεν προνοίαισι τοῦ πεπρωμένου  
 γλώσσαν ἐν τύχῃ νέμων ;— 685  
 τὰν δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικῇ θ' Ἑλέναν ;  
 ἐπεὶ πρεπόντως

ἑλένας, ἑλανδρος, ἑλέπολις,  
 ἐκ τῶν ἀβροτίμων 690  
 προκαλυμμάτων ἔπλευσε  
 ζεφύρου γίγαντος αὔρα,  
 πολύανδροί τε φεράσπιδες  
 κυναγοὶ κατ' ἔχνος  
 \* πλατᾶν ἄφαντον 695  
 κέλσαντες Σιμόεντος  
 ἄκτας \* ἐπ' ἀξιφύλλους  
 δι' ἔριν αἱματόεσσαν.  
 Ἴλιφ δὲ κῆδος ὀρ- ἀντ. α'.  
 θώνυμον τελεσσίφρων 700  
 μῆνις ἤλασεν, τραπέ-  
 ζας \* ἀτίμωσιν ὑπέρφω χρόνῳ  
 καὶ ξυνεστίου Διὸς  
 πρασσομένα τὸ νυμφότιμον μέλος ἐκ- 705  
 φάτως τίοντας,  
 ὑμέναιον, ὃς τότε ἐπέρρεπεν  
 γαμβροῖσιν ἀεῖδειν.  
 μεταμανθάνουσα δ' ὕμνον  
 Πριάμου πόλις γεραῖα 710  
 πολύθρηνον μέγα που στένει,  
 κικλήσκουσα Πάριν  
 τὸν αἰνόλεκτρον,  
 \* παμπορθῇ πολύθρηνον  
 αἰῶνα \* διαὶ πολιτᾶν 715  
 μέλεον αἰῶν' ἀνατλάσα·  
 ἔθρεψεν δὲ \* λέοντος ἱ- στρ. β'.  
 νιν δόμοις ἀγάλακτον οὔ-

695. πλατᾶν MSS. corr. Heath. 697. ἐπ' ἀξιφ. Fl. els ἀξιφ. Fa.  
 703. ἀτίμως Fa. ἀτίμως ἔν' Fl. corr. Cant. 714. παμπορόσθη MSS.  
 715. ἀμφὶ πολιτᾶν MSS. 717. λέοντα σίνιν MSS. corr. Conington.



τως ἀνὴρ φιλόμαστον,  
 ἐν βιότου προτελείοις 720  
 ἄμερον, εὐφιλόπαιδα,  
 καὶ γεραροῖς ἐπίχαρτον.  
 πολέα δ' \* ἔσκ' ἐν ἀγκάλαις,  
 νεοτρόφου τέκνου δίκαν,  
 φαιδρωπὸς ποτὶ χεῖρα, σαί- 725  
 νων τε γαστρὸς ἀνάγκαις.  
 χρονισθεῖς δ' ἀπέδειξεν \* ἡ- ἀντ. β'. 727  
 θος τὸ πρὸς τοκέων· χάριν  
 γὰρ τροφεύσιν ἀμείβων,  
 μηλοφόνουσι \* σὺν ἄταις 730  
 δαῖτ' ἀκέλευστος ἔτευξεν·  
 αἵματι δ' οἶκος ἐφύρθη·  
 ἄμαχον ἄλγος οἰκέταις,  
 μέγα σίνος πολυκτόνον·  
 ἐκ θεοῦ δ' ἱερεὺς τις ἄ- 735  
 τας δόμοις \* προσεθρέφθη.  
 παρ' αὐτὰ δ' ἔλθειν ἐς Ἴλιου πόλιν στρ. γ' 737  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν φρόνημα μὲν  
 νηνέμου γαλάνας, 740  
 ἀκασκαῖον \* δ' ἄγαλμα πλούτου,  
 μαλθακὸν ὀμμάτων βέλος,  
 δηξιθυμον ἔρωτος ἄνθος. 745  
 παρακλίνασ' ἐπέκρανευ  
 δὲ γάμου πικρὰς τελευτάς,  
 δύσεδρος καὶ δυσόμιλος

723. ἔσχ' MSS. corr. Cas. 727. ἔθος MSS. ἥθος Con.  
 729. τροφᾶς γὰρ Fl. Text Fa. 730. μηλοφόνουσιν ἄταις Fa.  
 μ. ἄταισιν Fl. 735. προσετράφη MSS. corr. Heath. 737.  
 πέραντα MSS. δ' Fl. δ' οὖν Fa. 741. MSS. om. δ'. 745.  
 παρακλίνουσ' Fa. Text Fl.

συμμένα Πριαμίδαισιν,  
 πομπῇ Διὸς ξενίου,  
 νυμφόκλαυτος Ἑρινύς.  
 παλαίφατος δ' ἐν βροτοῖς γέρων λόγος     ἀντ. γ'. 750  
 τέτυκται, μέγαν τελεσ-  
 θέντα φωτὸς ὄλβον  
 τεκνοῦσθαι μῆδ' ἄπαιδα θνήσκειν,  
 ἐκ δ' ἀγαθὰς τύχας γένει     755  
 βλαστάνειν ἀκόρεστον οἰζύν.  
 δίχα δ' ἄλλων μονόφρων εἰ-  
 μί. τὸ δυσσεβὲς γὰρ ἔργον  
 μετὰ μὲν πλείονα τίκτει,  
 σφετέρῃ δ' εἰκότα γέννα.     760  
 οἴκων δ' ἄρ' εὐθυδίκων  
 καλλίπαις πότμος αἰεί.  
 φιλεῖ δὲ τίκτειν ὕβρις     στρ. δ'.  
 μὲν παλαιὰ νεά-  
 ζουσιν ἐν κακοῖς βροτῶν     765  
 ὕβριν· τότ' ἢ τόθ', \* ὅτε τὸ κύριον μόλη  
 \* φάος τόκου,  
 δαίμονά τε \* τὰν ἄμαχον, ἀπόλεμον,  
 ἀνίερρον θράσος, μελαίνας μελάθροισιν ἄτας,     770  
 \* εἰδομένας τοκεῦσιν.  
 δίκαια δὲ λάμπει μὲν ἐν     ἀντ. δ'.  
 δυσκάπνοισι δώμασιν,  
 τὸν δ' ἐναῖσιμον τίλει [βίον].     775  
 τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' \* ἔδεθλα σὺν πίνυι χερῶν  
 παλιωτρόποις

755. γὰρ δυσσεβές MSS. 766. ὅταν MSS. ὅτε Kl. 767  
 νεὰ φάος κότον Fl. Fa. νεά δ' ἔφυσεν κόρον Pal. φάος τόκου  
 Ahr. 769. τὸν MSS. ἄμαχον om. Fa. 771. εἰδομένην MSS.  
 775. βίον MSS. prob. corrupt. 776. ἐσθλά MSS. corr. Aurat.

ὄμμασι λιποῦσ' ὅσια \* προσέμολε  
 δύναμιν οὐ σέβουσα πλούτου παρὰσημον αἴνῳ· 780  
 πᾶν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμᾷ.  
 ἄγε δῆ, βασιλεῦ, Τροίας πτολίπορθ',  
 Ἄτρεως γένεθλον,  
 πῶς σε προσείπω; πῶς σε σεβίζω, 785  
 μήθ' ὑπεράρας μήθ' ὑποκάμψας  
 καιρὸν χάριτος;  
 πολλοὶ δὲ βροτῶν τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι  
 προτίουσι δίκην παραβάντες.  
 τῷ δυσπραγοῦντι δ' ἐπιστενάχειν 790  
 πᾶς τις ἔτοιμος· δῆγμα δὲ λύπης  
 οὐδὲν ἐφ' ἥπαρ προσικνεῖται·  
 καὶ ξυγχαίρουσιν ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς —  
 ἀγέλαστα πρόσωπα βιαζόμενοι.  
 ὅστις δ' ἀγαθὸς προβατογνώμων, 795  
 οὐκ ἔστι λαθεῖν ὄμματα φωτὸς  
 τὰ δοκοῦντ' εὐφρονος ἐκ διανοίας  
 ὑδαρεῖ σαίνειν φιλότῃτι.  
 σὺ δέ μοι τότε μὲν στέλλων στρατιὰν  
 Ἑλένης ἔνεκ', οὐ γάρ \* σ' ἐπικεύσω, 800  
 κάρτ' ἀπομούσως ἦσθα γεγραμμένος,  
 οὐδ' εὖ πραπίδων οἶακα νέμων  
 θράσος \* ἐκ θυσιῶν  
 ἀνδράσι θνήσκουσι κομίζων.  
 νῦν δ' οὐκ ἀπ' ἄκρας φρενὸς οὐδ' ἀφίλως 805  
 εὐφρων \* πνόος εὖ τελέσασι.  
 γνώσει δὲ χρόνῳ διαπευθόμενος

779. προσέβα του MSS. corr. H. 791. δείγμα Fl. 800. σ' omit. MSS. corr. Musgr. 803. ἐκούσιον MSS. text Franz. 806. πόνος MSS. πνός Weil.

τόν τε δικαίως καὶ τὸν ἀκαίρως  
πόλιν οἰκουροῦντα πολιτῶν.

## ΑΓΑΜΕΜΝΩΝ.

πρῶτον μὲν Ἄργος καὶ θεοὺς ἐγγωρλοῦς 810  
δίκη προσειπεῖν, τοὺς ἐμοὶ μετὰ τῶν  
νόστου δικαίων θ' ὦν ἐπραξάμην πόλιν  
Πριάμου. δίκας γὰρ οὐκ ἀπὸ γλώσσης θεοὶ  
κλύοντες ἀνδροκμήτας Ἰλίου φθορὰς  
εἰς αἵματηρόν τευχος οὐ διχορρόπως 815  
ψήφους ἔθεντο· τῷ δ' ἐναντίῳ κύτει  
ἐλπίς προσήει χειρὸς οὐ πληρουμένῃ.  
καπνῷ δ' ἁλοῦσα νῦν ἔτ' εὖσημος πόλις.  
ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι· συνθνήσκουσα δὲ  
σποδὸς προπέμπει πλοῦτας πλούτου πνοάς. 820  
τούτων θεοῖσι χρή πολύμνηστον χάριν  
τίνειν, ἐπεὶ περ καὶ παγὰς ὑπερκότους  
\* ἐφραξάμεσθα, καὶ γυναικὸς οὐνεκα  
πόλιν διημάθυνεν Ἀργεῖον δάκος,  
ἵππου νεοσσός, ἀσπιδοστρόφος λεώς, 825  
πήδημ' ὀρούσας ἀμφὶ Πλειάδων δύσιν·  
ὑπερβορῶν δὲ πύργον ὠμηστῆς λέων  
ἄδην ἔλειξεν αἵματος τυραννικοῦ.  
θεοῖς μὲν ἐξέτεινα φροῖμιον τόδε·  
τὰ δ' ἐς τὸ σὸν φρόνημα, μέμνημαι κλύων, 830  
καὶ φημι ταῦτα καὶ συνήγορόν μ' ἔχεις.  
παύροις γὰρ ἀνδρῶν ἔστι συγγενὲς τόδε,  
φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ' ἄνευ φθόρου σέβειν.  
δύσφρων γὰρ ἰδὸς καρδίαν προσήμενος —

ἄχθος διπλοῖζει τῷ πεπαμένῳ νόσον, 835  
 τοῖς τ' αὐτὸς αὐτοῦ πῆμασιν βαρύνεται  
 καὶ τὸν θυραῖον ὄλβον εἰσορῶν στένει·  
 εἰδὼς λέγοιμ' ἄν, εὖ γὰρ ἐξεπίσταμαι,  
 ὁμιλίας κάτοπτρον, εἶδωλον σκιᾶς,  
 δοκοῦντας εἶναι κάρτα πρενμενεῖς ἐμοί. 840

μόνος δ' Ὀδυσσεύς, ὅσπερ οὐχ ἐκὼν ἐπλει,  
 ζευχθεὶς ἔτοιμος ἦν ἐμοὶ σειραφόρος·  
 εἴτ' οὖν θανόντος εἴτε καὶ ζώντος πέρι 845  
 λέγω. τὰ δ' ἄλλα πρὸς πόλιν τε καὶ θεοὺς  
 κοινούς ἀγῶνας θέντες ἐν πανηγύρει  
 βουλευσόμεσθα. καὶ τὸ μὲν καλῶς ἔχον  
 ὅπως χρονίζον εὖ μενεῖ βουλευτέον·  
 ὅτῳ δὲ καὶ δεῖ φαρμάκων παιωνίων,  
 ἥτοι κέαντες ἢ τεμόντες εὐφρόνως  
 πειρασόμεσθα \* πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσον. 850  
 νῦν δ' ἐς μέλαθρα καὶ δόμους ἐφεστίους  
 ἐλθὼν θεοῖσι πρῶτα δεξιώσομαι,  
 ὥσπερ πρόσσω πέμψαντες ἤγαγον πάλιν.  
 νίκη δ' ἐπέειπερ ἔσπετ', ἐμπέδως μένοι.

ΚΛ. ἄνδρες πολῖται, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε, 855  
 οὐκ αἰσχυνοῦμαι τοὺς φιλόνορας τρόπους  
 λέξαι πρὸς ὑμᾶς· ἐν χρόνῳ δ' ἀποφθίνει  
 τὸ τάρβος ἀνθρώποισιν. οὐκ ἄλλων πάρα  
 μαθοῦς, ἐμαντῆς δύσφορον λέξω βίον,  
 τοσόδ' ὅσον περ οὗτος ἦν ὑπ' Ἰλίου. 860  
 τὸ μὲν γυναῖκα πρῶτον ἄρσεως δίχα  
 ἦσθαι δόμοις ἔρημον ἑκπαγλον κακόν,  
 πολλὰς κλύουσιν \* κληδόνας παλιγκότους·

καὶ τὸν μὲν ἤκειν, τὸν δ' ἐπεσφέρειν κακοῦ  
 κάκιον ἄλλο πῆμα, λάσκοντας δόμοις. 865  
 καὶ τραυμάτων μὲν εἰ τόσων ἐτύγχανε  
 ἀνὴρ δδ', ὡς πρὸς οἶκον ὠχετεύετο  
 φάτις, \* τέτρηται δικτύου πλέον λέγειν.  
 εἰ δ' ἦν τεθνηκώς, ὡς ἐπλήθουν λόγοι,  
 τρισώματός τὰν Γηρυὼν ὁ δεύτερος 870  
 [πολλὴν ἄνωθεν, τὴν κάτω γὰρ οὐ λέγω]  
 χθονὸς τρίμοιρον χλαῖναν ἐξηύχει \* λαβεῖν,  
 ἅπαξ ἐκάστω κατθανὼν μορφώματι.  
 τοιῶνδ' ἕκατι κληδόνων παλιγκότων  
 πολλὰς ἄνωθεν ἀρτάνας ἐμῆς δέρης 875  
 ἔλυσαν ἄλλοι πρὸς βίαν λελημμένης.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ τοὶ παῖς ἐνθάδ' οὐ παραστατεῖ,  
 ἐμῶν τε καὶ σῶν κύριος \* πιστωμάτων,  
 ὡς χρῆν, Ὀρέστης· μηδὲ θαυμάσης τόδε.  
 τρέφει γὰρ αὐτὸν εὐμενῆς δορυξένος 880  
 Στρόφιος ὁ Φωκεύς, ἀμφίλεκτα πῆματα  
 ἐμοὶ προφωνῶν, τὸν θ' ὑπ' Ἰλῖφ σέθεν  
 κίνδυνον, εἴ τε δημόθρους ἀναρχία  
 βουλὴν καταρρίψειεν, ὥστε σύγγονον  
 βροτοῖσι τὸν πεσόντα λακτίσαι πλέον. 885  
 τοιάδε μέντοι σκῆψις οὐ δόλον φέρει.  
 ἐμοιγε μὲν δὴ κλαυμάτων ἐπίσσυτοι  
 πηγαὶ κατεσβήκασι, οὐδ' ἐνι σταγῶν.  
 ἐν ὀψικίοις δ' ὄμμασι βλάβας ἔχω,  
 τὰς ἀμφί σοι κλαίονσα λαμπτηρουχίας 890  
 ἀτμηελήτους αἰέν. ἐν δ' ὀνείρασι

867. ἀνὴρ MSS. 868. τέτρωται MSS. text Ahr. 871. No  
 doubt corrupt. 872. λαβὼν MSS. corr. K. Pal. 878. πιστευ-  
 μάτων MSS. corr. H.

λεπταῖς ὑπαὶ κώνωπος ἐξηγειρόμην  
 ῥιπαῖσι θωπύσσοντος, ἀμφί σοι πάθη  
 ὀρώσα πλείω τοῦ ξυνεύδοντος χρόνου.  
 νῦν ταῦτα πάντα τλᾶσ' ἀπενθήτῳ φρενὶ 895  
 λέγοιμ' ἂν ἄνδρα τόνδε, τῶν σταθμῶν κύνα,  
 σωτήρα ναὸς πρότονον, ὑψηλῆς στέγης —  
 στῦλον ποδῆρη, μόνογενὲς τέκνον πατρί,  
 καὶ γῆν φανείσαν ναυτίλοις παρ' ἐλπίδα,  
 κάλλιστον ἡμαρ εἰσιδεῖν ἐκ χείματος, 900  
 ὁδοιπόρῳ διψῶντι πηγαῖον ῥέος.  
 τερπνὸν δὲ τὰναγκαῖον ἐκφυγεῖν ἄπαν.  
 τοιοῖσδ' \* τοὶ νιν ἀξιῶ προσφθέγμασιν.  
 φθόνος δ' ἀπέστω· πολλὰ γὰρ τὰ πρὶν κακὰ  
 ἦν νειχόμεσθα· νῦν δέ μοι, φίλον κára, 905  
 ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μὴ χαμαὶ τιθεῖς  
 τὸν σὸν πόδ', ὦναξ, Ἴλίου πορθήτορα.  
 ὁμωαί, τί μέλλεθ', αἷς ἐπέσταλται τέλος  
 πέδον κελεύθου στρωννύναι πετάσμασιν;  
 εὐθὺς γενέσθω πορφυρόστρωτος πόρος 910  
 ἐς δῶμ' ἀελπτον ὥς ἂν ἡγήται δίκη.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλα φροντὶς οὐχ ὕπνω νικωμένη  
 θήσει δικαίως σὺν θεοῖς εἰμαρμένα.

ΑΓ. Λήδας γένεθλον, δωμάτων ἐμῶν φύλαξ,  
 ἀπουσίᾳ μὲν εἶπας εἰκότως ἐμῇ· 915  
 μακρὰν γὰρ ἐξέτεινας· ἀλλ' ἐναισίμως  
 αἰνεῖν, παρ' ἄλλων χρεὶ τόδ' ἔρχεσθαι γέρας·  
 καὶ τᾶλλα μὴ γυναικὸς ἐν τρόποις ἐμὲ  
 ἄβρυνε μηδὲ βαρβάρου φωτὸς δίκην  
 χαμαιπετὲς βόαμα προσχάνης ἐμοί, 920  
 μηδ' εἵμασι στρώσας' ἐπίφθονον πόρον

τίθει· θεούς τοι τοῖσδε τιμαλφεῖν χρεών·  
 ἐν ποικίλοις δὲ θνητὸν ὄντα κάλλεσιν  
 βαίνειν ἐμοὶ μὲν οὐδαμῶς ἄνευ φόβου.  
 λέγω κατ' ἄνδρα, μὴ θεόν, σέβειν ἐμέ. 925

χωρὶς ποδοψήστρων τε καὶ τῶν ποικίλων  
 κληδὼν αὐτεῖ· καὶ τὸ μὴ κακῶς φρονεῖν  
 θεοῦ μέγιστον δῶρον. ὀλβίσαι δὲ χρὴ  
 βίον τελευτήσαντ' ἐν εὐεστοῖ φίλῃ.  
 εἰ πάντα δ' ὥς πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν, εὐθαρσῆς ἐγώ. 930

ΚΛ. καὶ μὴν τόδ' εἶπε μὴ παρὰ γνώμην ἐμοί.  
 ΑΓ. γνώμην μὲν ἴσθι μὴ διαφθεροῦντ' ἐμέ.  
 ΚΛ. ἤϊζω θεοῖς δείσας ἄν ᾧδ' ἔρδειν τάδε ;  
 ΑΓ. εἴπερ τις, εἰδὼς γ' εὖ τόδ' ἐξεῖπον τέλος.  
 ΚΛ. τί δ' ἂν δοκεῖ σοι Πρίαμος εἰ τάδ' ἤνυσεν ; 935

ΑΓ. ἐν ποικίλοις ἂν κάρτα μοι βῆναι δοκεῖ.  
 ΚΛ. μή νυν τὸν ἀνθρώπειον αἰδεσθῆς ψόγον.  
 ΑΓ. φήμη γε μέντοι δημόθρους μέγα σθένει.  
 ΚΛ. ὁ δ' ἀφθόνητός γ' οὐκ ἐπίζηλος πέλει.  
 ΑΓ. οὔτοι γυναικός ἐστιν ἱμέλρειν μάχης. 940

ΚΛ. τοῖς δ' ὀλβίοις γε καὶ τὸ νικᾶσθαι πρέπει.  
 ΑΓ. ἦ καὶ σὺ νίκην τήνδε δῆριος τίεις ;  
 ΚΛ. πιθοῦ· κράτος μέντοι πάρες γ' ἐκὼν ἐμοί.  
 ΑΓ. ἀλλ' εἰ δοκεῖ σοι ταῦθ', ὑπαί τις ἀρβύλας  
 λῦοι τάχος πρόδουλον ἔμβασιν ποδός, 945  
 καὶ τοῖσδέ μ' ἐμβαίνουνθ' ἀλουργέσιν θεῶν  
 μή τις πρόσωθεν ὄμματος βάλοι φθόνος.  
 πολλὴ γὰρ αἰδὼς \*δωματοφθορεῖν ποσὶ  
 φθείροντα πλοῦτον ἀργυρωνήτους θ' ὑφάς.  
 τούτων μὲν οὕτω· τὴν ξένην δὲ πρηνευμένως 950



τὴνδ' ἐσκόμιζε· τὸν κρατοῦντα μαλθακῶς  
 θεὸς πρόσωθεν εὐμενῶς προσδέρκεται.  
 ἐκὼν γὰρ οὐδείς δουλίῳ χρήται ζυγῷ.  
 αὕτη δὲ πολλῶν χρημάτων ἐξαίρετον  
 ἄνθος, στρατοῦ δώρημ', ἐμοὶ ξυνέσπετο. 955  
 ἐπεὶ δ' ἀκούειν σοῦ κατέστραμμαι τάδε,  
 εἴμ' ἐς δόμων μέλαθρα, πορφύρας πατῶν.

ΚΛ. ἔστιν θάλασσα, τίς δέ νιν κατασβέσει ;  
 τρέφουσα πολλῆς πορφύρας \* ἰσάργυρον  
 κηκίδα παγκαίνιστον, εἰμάτων βαφάς. 960  
 οἶκος δ' ὑπάρχει τῶνδε σὺν θεοῖς, ἄναξ,  
 ἔχειν· πένεσθαι δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται δόμος.  
 πολλῶν πατησμον δ' εἰμάτων ἂν ηὐξάμην,  
 δόμοισι προῦνεχθέντος ἐν χρηστηρίοις,  
 ψυχῆς κόμιστρα τῆσδε μηχανωμένη. 965  
 ῥίξης γὰρ οὔσης φυλλὰς ἴκετ' ἐς δόμους,  
 σκιὰν ὑπερτείνασα σειρίου κυνός.  
 καὶ σοῦ μολόντος δωματίτιν ἐστίαν,  
 θάλπος μὲν ἐν χειμῶνι σημαίνεις μολόν'  
 ὅταν δὲ τεύχη Ζεὺς ἀπ' ὄμφακος πικρᾶς 970  
 οἶνον, τότε ἤδη ψῦχος ἐν δόμοις πέλει,  
 ἀνδρὸς τελείου δῶμ' ἐπιστρωφωμένον.  
 Ζεῦ Ζεῦ τέλειε, τὰς ἐμὰς εὐχὰς τέλει·  
 μέλοι δέ τοι σοὶ τῶνπερ ἂν μέλλης τελεῖν.

ΧΟ. τίπτε μοι τόδ' ἐμπέδωσ στρ. α'. 975  
 δεῖμα προστατήριον  
 καρδίας τερασκόπου ποτᾶται,  
 μαντιπολεῖ δ' ἀκέλευστος ἄμισθος ἀοιδά·

959. εἰς ἄργυρον MSS. 965. μηχανωμένης MSS. corr. H.  
 969. μολῶν MSS. 970. Ζεὺς τ' MSS. 976. δεῖγμα Fl. δεῖμα  
 Fa.

οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι δίκαν 980  
 δυσκρίτων ὀνειράτων  
 θάρσος εὐπιθὲς ἵξει  
 φρενὸς φίλον θρόνον; † χρόνος δ' ἐπὶ  
 πρυμνησίῳ \* ξυνεμβολαῖς  
 ψαμμίας ἀκάτας παρή- 985  
 βησεν, εὐθ' ὑπ' Ἴλιον  
 ὦρτο ναυβάτας στρατός.  
 πεύθομαι δ' ἀπ' ὀμμάτων 990  
 νόστον, αὐτόμαρτυς ὦν  
 τὸν δ' ἄνευ λύρας \* ὅμως ὕμνωδεῖ  
 θρήνον Ἑρινύος αὐτοδίδακτος ἔσθωθεν  
 θυμός, οὐ τὸ πᾶν ἔχων  
 ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος.  
 σπλάγχνα δ' \* οὔτι ματάζει 995  
 πρὸς ἐνδίκους φρεσὶν τελεσφόροις  
 δίναις κυκλοῦμενον κέαρ.  
 εὐχομαι δ' ἀπ' ἐμᾶς \* τοιαῦτ'  
 ἐλπίδος ψύθη πεσεῖν,  
 ἐς τὸ μὴ τελεσφόρον. 1000  
 μάλα γέ τοι \* τὸ μεγάλας ὑγείας στρ. β'.  
 ἀκόρεστον τέρμα. νόστος γὰρ \* ἀεὶ  
 γείτων ὁμοτοίχος ἐρείδει,  
 καὶ πότμος εὐθυπορῶν 1005  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 ἀνδρὸς ἔπαισεν ἄφαντον ἔρμα.  
 καὶ τὸ μὲν πρὸ χρημάτων

980. ἀποπτύσας Fl. text Fa. 982. ἵξει MSS. corr. Scal.  
 983. ἐπεὶ Fl. 984. ξυνεμβόλοις MSS. 990. ὅπως MSS. 991.  
 Ἑρινύς MSS. 995. οὔτοι MSS. 998. ἐξ ἐμᾶς Fl. τοι Fa. om.  
 Fl. τοιαῦτ' K. 1001. γάρ τοι Fl. γέ τοι δὴ Fa. τὰς πολλὰς MSS.  
 text Pal. τὸ πολέος Enger. 1002. om. ἀεὶ MSS. 1006. line  
 omitted probably.

κτησίῳν ὄκνος βαλῶν,

σφενδόνας ἀπ' εὐμέτρον,—

1010

οὐκ ἔδν πρόπας δόμος

πημονᾶς γέμων ἄγαν,

οὐδ' ἐπόντισε σκάφος.

πολλά τοι δόσις ἐκ Διὸς ἀμφιλαφής τε καὶ ἕξ

ἀλόκων ἐπετειῶν

1015

νῆστιν ὤλεσεν νόσον.

τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γᾶν \* πεσὼν ἀπαξ θανάσιμον ἀντ. β'.

προπάροιθ' ἀνδρὸς μέλαν αἶμα τίς ἂν

1020

πάλιν ἀγκαλέσαιτ' ἐπαείδων;

οὐδὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ

τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν

Ζεὺς \* ἀπέπαυσεν ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ; †

εἰ δὲ μὴ τεταγμένα

1025

μοῖρα μοῖραν ἐκ θεῶν

εἶργε μὴ πλέον φέρειν,

προφθάσασα καρδίᾳ

γλῶσσαν ἂν τάδ' ἑξέχει.

νῦν δ' ὑπὸ σκότῳ βρέμει

1030

θυμαλγής τε καὶ οὐδὲν ἐπελπομένα ποτὲ καίριον

ἐκτολυπεύσειν,

ζωπυρουμένας φρενός.

ΚΛ. εἴσω κομίζου καὶ σύ, Κασσάνδραν λέγω,

1035

ἐπεὶ σ' ἔθηκε Ζεὺς ἀμηνύτως δόμοις

κοινωνὸν εἶναι χερνίβων, πολλῶν μετὰ

δούλων, σταθείσαν κτησίῳ βωμοῦ πέλας.

ἔκβαιν' ἀπήνης τῆσδε, μηδ' ὑπερφρόνει.

καὶ παῖδα γάρ τοι φασὶν Ἀλκμήνης ποτὲ

1040

1019. πεσόνθ' ἀπαξ MSS. 1024. αὐτ' ἐπαυσεν MSS. text  
Hartung. ἐπ' ἀβλαβείᾳ γε Fa. text Fl.

- πραθέντα τλήναι καὶ ζυγῶν θιγεῖν βία.  
 εἰ δ' οὖν ἀνάγκη τῆσδ' ἐπιρρέποι τύχης,  
 ἀρχαιοπλούτων δεσποτῶν πολλὴ χάρις.  
 οἱ δ' οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσαντες ἤμησαν καλῶς,  
 ὦμοί τε δούλοις πάντα καὶ παρὰ στάθμην. 1045  
 ἔχεις παρ' ἡμῶν οἰάπερ νομίζεται.
- ΧΟ. σοί τοι λέγουσα παύεται σαφῇ λόγον.  
 ἐντὸς δ' \* ἄλοῦσα μορσίμων ἀγρευμάτων,  
 πείθοι' ἂν εἰ πείθοι'· ἀπειθοίης δ' ἴσως.
- ΚΛ. ἀλλ' εἴπερ ἐστὶ μὴ χελιδόνος δίκην 1050  
 ἀγνώτα φωνὴν βάρβαρον κεκτημένη,  
 ἔσω φρενῶν λέγουσα πείθω νιν λόγῳ.
- ΧΟ. ἔπου. τὰ λῶστα τῶν παρεστῶτων λέγει.  
 πείθου, λιποῦσα τόνδ' ἀμαξήρη θρόνον.
- ΚΛ. οὔτοι \* θυραία τῇδ' ἐμοὶ σχολὴ πάρα 1055  
 τρίβειν· τὰ μὲν γὰρ ἐστίας μεσομφάλου  
 ἔστηκεν ἤδη μῆλα πρὸς σφαγὰς πυρός,  
 ὥς οὔ ποτ' ἐλπίσασι τήνδ' ἔξειν χάριν.  
 σὺ δ' εἴ τι δράσεις τῶνδε, μὴ σχολὴν τίθει.  
 εἰ δ' ἄξυνήμων οὔσα μὴ δέχει λόγον, 1060  
 σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνῳ χερσί.
- ΧΟ. ἐρμηνέως ἔοικεν ἡ ξένη τοροῦ  
 δεῖσθαι· τρόπος δὲ θηρὸς ὥς νεαιρέτου.
- ΚΛ. ἡ μαίνεται γε καὶ κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν,  
 ἥτις λιποῦσα μὲν πόλιν νεαίρετον 1065  
 ἡκει, χαλινὸν δ' οὐκ ἐπίσταται φέρειν,  
 πρὶν αἱματηρὸν ἐξαφρίζεσθαι μένος.  
 σὺ μὴν πλέω ῥίψας ἀτιμωθήσομαι.

1041. τλήναι δουλείας μάξης βία Fl. text Fa. 1042. ἐπιρρέπει  
 Fa. 1048. ἂν οὔσα MSS. text Haupt. 1055. θυραίαν τήνδ'  
 MSS.

- ΧΟ. ἐγὼ δ', ἐποικτείρω γάρ, οὐ θυμώσομαι.  
 ἴθ', ὦ τάλαινα, τόνδ' ἐρημώσας ὄχον, 1070  
 \* εἴκουσ' ἀνάγκη τῇδε καίνισον ζυγόν.

## ΚΑΣΣΑΝΔΡΑ.

- ὀτοτοτοὶ πόποι δᾶ. στρ. α'.  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.  
 ΧΟ. τί ταῦτ' ἀνωτότυξας ἀμφὶ Λοξίου;  
 οὐ γὰρ τοιοῦτος ὥστε θρηνητοῦ τυχεῖν. 1075  
 ΚΑ. ὀτοτοτοὶ πόποι δᾶ. ἀντ. α'.  
 ὦπολλον ὦπολλον.  
 ΧΟ. ἡ δ' αὔτε δυσφημοῦσα τὸν θεὸν καλεῖ  
 οὐδὲν προσήκοντ' ἐν γόοις παραστατεῖν.  
 ΚΑ. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον στρ. β'. 1080  
 — ἀγυῖάτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.  
 ἀπώλεσας γὰρ οὐ μόλις τὸ δεύτερον.  
 ΧΟ. χρήσειν ἔοικεν ἀμφὶ τῶν αὐτῆς κακῶν.  
 μένει τὸ θείον δουλίᾳ \* περ ἐν φρενί.  
 ΚΑ. Ἄπολλον Ἄπολλον ἀντ. β'. 1085  
 ἀγυῖάτ' ἀπόλλων ἐμός.  
 ἃ ποῖ ποτ' ἤγαγές με; πρὸς ποῖαν στέγην;  
 ΧΟ. πρὸς τὴν Ἀτρειδῶν εἰ σὺ μὴ τόδ' ἐννοεῖς,  
 ἐγὼ λέγω σοι· καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἔρεῖς ψύθη.  
 ΚΑ. μισόθεον μὲν οὖν, πολλὰ συνίστορα στρ. γ'. 1090  
 αὐτόφωνα κακὰ \* καὶ ἀρτάνας,  
 ἀνδρὸς \* σφαγείον καὶ πέδον ῥαντήριον.  
 ΧΟ. ἔοικεν εὖρις ἢ ξένη κυνὸς δίκην  
 εἶναι, ματεύει δ' ὦν \* ἀνευρήσει φόνον.

1071. ἐκούσ' MSS. corr. Rob. 1084. παρ' ἐν M.G. παρὲν Fl.  
 παρὸν Fa. 1091. κάρτανας Fa. κάρτάναι M.G. Fl. 1092.  
 σφάγιον MSS. 1094. ὦν ἂν εὐρήσῃ M.G. ὦν ἐφευρήσει Fl. Fa.  
 corr. Pors.

- ΚΑ. μαρτυροῖσι γὰρ τοῖσδ' ἐπιπείθομαι· ἀντ. γ'. 1095  
 κλαιόμενα τάδε βρέφη σφαγὰς,  
 ὀπτάς τε σάρκας πρὸς πατρὸς βεβρωμένας.
- ΧΟ. ἦμεν κλέος σοῦ μαντικὸν τετυσμένοι·  
 \*τούτων προφήτας δ' οὕτως ματεύομεν.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόποι, τί ποτε μῆδεται; στρ. δ' 1100  
 τί τόδε νέον ἄχος μέγα  
 μέγ' ἐν δόμοισι τοῖσδε μῆδεται κακὸν  
 ἄφερτον φίλοισιν, δυσίατον; ἀλλὰ δ'  
 ἐκὰς ἀποστατεῖ.
- ΧΟ. τούτων αἰδρὶς εἰμι τῶν μαντευμάτων· 1105  
 ἐκεῖνα δ' ἔγνω· πᾶσα γὰρ πόλις βοᾷ.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ τάλαινα, τόδε γὰρ τελεῖς, ἀντ. δ'.  
 τὸν ὁμοδέμνιον πόσιν  
 λουτροῖσι φαιδρύνασα—πῶς φράσω τέλος;  
 τάχος γὰρ τὸδ' ἔσται. προτείνει δὲ χεῖρ ἐκ 1110  
 χερὸς \*ὀρέγματα.
- ΧΟ. οὐπω ξυνῆκα· νῦν γὰρ ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων  
 ἐπαργέμοισι θεσφάτοις ἀμηχανῶ.
- ΚΑ. ἔξ, παπαῖ παπαῖ, τί τόδε φαίνεται; στρ. ε'.  
 ἦ δίκτυόν τι Ἰλίου;  
 ἀλλ' ἄρκυς ἢ ξύνευνος, ἢ ξυναιτία  
 φόνου. στάσις δ' ἀκόρετος γένει  
 κατολολυξάτω θύματος λευσίμου.
- ΧΟ. ποῖαν Ἐρινὺν τήνδε δώμασιν κέλει  
 ἐπορθιάζειν; οὐ με φαιδρύνει λόγος. 1120  
 ἐπὶ δὲ καρδίαν ἔδραμε κροκοβαφῆς

1095. μαρτυροῖσι μὲν γὰρ Fl. Fa. V. τοῖσδε πεπείθομαι MSS.  
 1096. τάδε M. G. τὰ Fl. Fa. V. 1098. ἦμεν G. Fl. V. ἦ μὴν M?  
 ἦ μὲν Fa. 1099. ἦμεν MSS. τούτων Weil. 1111. ὀρεγόμενα  
 M. G. ὀρεγμένα Fl. Fa. V. corr. H. 1117. ἀκόρεστος MSS.

σταγών, † ἄτε \* καιρία πτώσιμος

ξυνανύτει βίου δύντος ἀνγαῖς.

ταχεῖα δ' ἄτα πέλει.

ΚΑ. ἂ ἄ. ἰδοὺ ἰδοῦ· ἄπεχε τῆς βοῶς ἀντ. ε'. 1125

τὸν ταῦρον· ἐν πέπλοισι

\* μελαγκέρῳ λαβοῦσα μηχανήματι

τύπτει· πίτνει δ' \* ἐν ἐνύδρῳ \* κύτει.

δολοφόνου λέβητος τύχαν σοὶ λέγω.

ΧΟ. οὐ κομπάσαιμ' ἂν θεσφάτων γνώμων ἄκρος 1130

εἶναι, κακῷ δέ τῳ προσεικάσω τάδε.

ἀπὸ δὲ θεσφάτων τίς ἀγαθὰ φάτις

βροτοῖς στέλλεται; κακῶν γὰρ \* διαὶ

πολυεπεῖς τέχναι θεσπιῶδον

φόβον φέρουσιν μαθεῖν.

1135

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ ταλαίνας κακόποτμοι τύχαι. στρ. 5'.

τὸ γὰρ ἐμὸν θροῶ πάθος \* ἐπεγχείαι.

ποῖ δὴ με δεῦρο τὴν τάλαιναν ἦγαγες;

οὐδέν ποτ' εἰ μὴ ξυνθανομένην. τί γάρ;

ΧΟ. φρενομανῆς τις εἶ θεοφόρητος, ἀμ- 1140

φλ δ' αὐτὰς θροεῖς

νόμον ἀνομον, οἷά τις ξουθὰ

ἀκόρετος βοᾶς, φεῦ, ταλαίναῖς φρεσὶν

ἴτυν ἴτυν στένουσ' ἀμφιθαλῇ κακοῖς

ἀηδῶν βίον.

1145

ΚΑ. ἰὼ ἰὼ λιγείας μόρον ἀηδόνοσ' ἀντ. 5'.

\* περιβάλον γὰρ οἱ πτεροφόρον δέμας

1122. καὶ δωρία Μ. καὶ δωρία G. V. Fl. δωρία Fa. corr. D.

1127. μελάγκερων Fa. Fl. V. and M. originally. μελαγκέρων G.

1128. MSS. om. ἐν. τεύχει MSS. corr. Blom. H. 1133. διὰ M.G.

διὰ αὶ Fl. Fa. V. 1137. ἐπεγχείασα M.G. ἐπαγχείασα V. Fl. Fa.

ἐπεγχείαι Campbell. 1143. ἀκόρετος MSS. cf. 1117. 1147.

περεβάλλοντο γὰρ M. περεβάλλοντο γὰρ G. περιβαλόντες γὰρ Fa.

Fl. V. corr. Blom.

- θεοί, γλυκύν τ' αἰῶνα κλαυμάτων ἄτερ·  
 ἔμοι δὲ μίμνει σχισμὸς ἀμφήκει δορί.
- ΧΟ. πόθεν ἐπισσύτους θεοφόρους τ' ἔχεις 1150  
 ματαίους δῦας,  
 τὰ δ' ἐπίφοβα δυσφάτῳ κλαγγῇ  
 μελοτυπεῖς ὁμοῦ τ' ὀρθίοις ἐν νόμοις ;  
 πόθεν ὄρους ἔχεις θεσπεσίας ὁδοῦ  
 κακορρήμονας ; 1155
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ γάμοι γάμοι Πάριδος ὀλέθριοι φίλων· στρ. ζ'.  
 ἰὼ Σκαμάνδρου πάτριον ποτόν.  
 τότε μὲν ἀμφὶ σὰς αἰῶνας τάλαιν'  
 ἡνυτόμαν τροφαῖς·  
 νῦν δ' ἀμφὶ Κωκυτόν τε κἀχερουσίους 1160  
 ὄχθους ξοικα θεσπιωδήσειν τάχα.
- ΧΟ. τί τόδε τορὸν ἄγαν ἔπος ἐφημίσω ;  
 νεόγονος \* ἂν αἰῶν μάθοι.  
 πέπληγμαι δ' ὑπαὶ \* δάκει φοινίῳ,  
 δυσαλγεί τύχῃ μινυρὰ κακὰ \* θρευμένας, 1165  
 θραύματ' ἔμοι κλύειν.
- ΚΑ. ἰὼ πόνοι πόνοι πόλεος ὀλομένας τὸ πᾶν. ἀντ. ζ'.  
 ἰὼ πρόπυργοι θυσίαι πατρὸς  
 πολυκανεῖς βοτῶν ποιονόμων· ἄκος δ'  
 οὐδὲν ἐπήρκεσαν 1170  
 τὸ μὴ πόλιν μὲν ὥσπερ οὖν ἔχει παθεῖν.  
 ἐγὼ δὲ \* θερμὴν οὐ στάγ' ἐν πέδῳ βαλῶ ;
- ΧΟ. ἐπόμενα προτέροισι τὰδ' ἐφημίσω.  
 καὶ τίς σε \* κακοφρονῶν τίθη-

1148. ἀγῶνα MSS. 1152. ἐπιφόβῳ M.G. 1163. νεογνὸς  
 ἀνθρώπων μάθοι MSS. καὶ παῖς νεόγονος ἂν μάθοι H. text Karst.  
 1164. δῆγματι MSS. 1165. θρεομένας MSS. 1166. θαύματ'  
 Fa. text V. Fl. 1172. θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδῳ MSS. corr.  
 Miller. 1174. κακοφρονεῖν MSS.



σι δαίμων ὑπερβαρῆς ἐμπίτνων 1175  
 μελίζειν πάθη γοερὰ θανατηφόρα.  
 τέρμα δ' ἀμψχανῶ.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ὁ χρησμὸς οὐκέτ' ἐκ καλυμμάτων  
 ἔσται δεδορκῶς νεογάμον νύμφης δίκην  
 λαμπρὸς δ' ἔοικεν ἡλίου πρὸς ἀντολὰς 1180  
 πνέων ἐσῆξειν, ὥστε κύματος δίκην  
 \* κλύζειν πρὸς αὐγὰς τοῦδε πῆματος πολὺν  
 μείζον· φρενώσω δ' οὐκέτ' ἐξ αἰνιγμάτων.  
 καὶ μαρτυρεῖτε συνδρόμῳ ἵχνος κακῶν  
 ῥινηλατούση τῶν πάλαι πεπραγμένων. 1185  
 τὴν γὰρ στέγην τήνδ' οὔ ποτ' ἐκλείπει χορὸς  
 σύμφθογγος, οὐκ εὐφωνος· οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει.  
 καὶ μὴν πεπωκὼς γ', ὥς θρασύνεσθαι πλέον,  
 βρότειον αἷμα κῶμος ἐν δόμοις μένει,  
 — δύσπεμπτos ἔξω συγγόνων Ἑρινύων. 1190  
 ὕμνοισι δ' ὕμνον δώμασιν προσήμεναι  
 πρῶταρχον ἄτην· ἐν μέρει δ' ἀπέπτυσαν  
 — εὐνὰς ἀδελφοῦ τῷ πατοῦντι δυσμενεῖς.  
 ἥμαρτον, ἢ \* θηρῶ τι τοξότης τίς ὥς ;  
 — ἢ ψευδόμαντις εἰμι θυροκόπος φλέδων ; 1195  
 ἐκμαρτύρησον προὔμοσας τό μ' εἰδέναι  
 λόγῳ παλαιὰς τῶνδ' ἁμαρτίας δόμων.

— ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ἂν ὄρκος, \* πῆγμα γενναίως παγέν,  
 παιώνιος γένοιτο ; θαυμάζω δέ σε  
 πόντου πέραν τραφεῖσαν ἀλλόθρουν πόλιν 1200  
 κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, ὥσπερ εἰ παρεστάτεις.

ΚΑ. μάντις μ' Ἀπόλλων τῷδ' ἐπέστησεν τέλει.

1176. θανατοφόρα V. Fl. text Fa. 1182. κλύειν MSS. corr.  
 Aur. Schutz. 1194. τηρῶ MSS. corr. Cant. 1196. τὸ μὴ δέναι V.  
 text Fl. Fa. 1198. πῆγμα MSS. 1199. παιώνιον V. Fl. text Fa.

ΧΟ. μῶν καὶ θεός περ ἱμέρῳ πεπληγμένος ;

ΚΑ. προτοῦ μὲν αἰδῶς ἦν ἐμοὶ λέγειν τάδε.

ΧΟ. ἀβρῦνεται γὰρ πᾶς τις εὖ πράσσων πλέον. 1205

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' ἦν παλαιστής, κάρτ' ἐμοὶ πνέων χάριν.

ΧΟ. ἦ καὶ τέκνων εἰς ἔργον ἡλθέτην νόμῳ ;

ΚΑ. ξυναινέσασα Λοξίαν ἐψευσάμην.

ΧΟ. ἤδη τέχναισιν ἐνθέοις ἡρήμενη ;

ΚΑ. ἤδη πολίταις πάντ' ἐθέσπιζον πάθη. 1210

ΧΟ. πῶς δῆτ' \*ἀνατος ἦσθα Λοξίου κότῳ ;

ΚΑ. ἔπειθον οὐδέν' οὐδέν, ὥς τάδ' ἡμπλακον.

ΧΟ. ἡμῖν γε μὲν δὴ πιστὰ θεσπίζειν δοκεῖς.

ΚΑ. ἰὸν ἰού, ῶ ῶ κακά.

ὑπ' αὐτὸν με δεινὸς ὀρθομαντείας πόνος 1215

στροβεῖ, ταρασσὼν φροιμίους \*δυσφροιμίους

ὁρᾶτε τούσδε τοὺς δόμοις ἐφημένους

νέους, δνείρων προσφερεῖς μορφώμασι ;

παῖδες θανόντες ὥσπερ εἰς πρὸς τῶν φίλων,

χεῖρας κρεῶν πλήθοντες οἰκείας βορᾶς, 1220

σὺν ἐντέροις τε σπλάγχν', ἐποίκτιστον γέμος,

πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, ὧν πατὴρ ἐγεύσατο.

ἐκ τῶνδε ποινὰς φημι βουλευεῖν τινὰ

λέοντ' ἀναλκιν ἐν λέχει στρωφώμενον

οἰκουρόν, οἴμοι, τῷ μολόντι δεσπότη 1225

ἐμῷ· φέρειν γὰρ χρὴ τὸ δούλιον ζυγόν.

νεῶν τ' ἑπαρχὸς Ἰλίου τ' ἀναστάτης

† οὐκ οἶδεν οἷα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς

λέξασα, κάκτεινασα φαιδρόνους, δίκην

ἄτης λαθραίων, τεύζεται κακῇ τύχῃ.† 1230

1203 and 1204 inverted in MSS. H. restored the order. 1211.

ἀνακτος MSS. corr. Cant. 1216. ἐφημένους MSS. text H. 1228.

corrupt. Madv. conj. οἷα γλῶσσα μ. κ. λείξασα κάκτεινασα φαιδρὸν οὐς, δ. ἄ. λ., δῆξεται κακῇ τύχῃ. (λείξασα Tytwhitt.)

\*τοιᾶδε τόλμη θῆλυς ἄρσενος φονεὺς  
 ἔστιν. τί νιν καλοῦσα δυσφιλὲς δάκος  
 τύχοιμ' ἂν; ἀμφίσβαιναν, ἣ Σκύλλαν τινὰ —  
 οἰκοῦσαν ἐν πέτραισι, ναυτίλων βλάβην,  
 θύουσαν Ἀίδου μητέρ', ἄσπονδόν τ' Ἄρη 1235  
 φίλοις πνέουσαν; ὥς δ' ἐπωλολύξατο  
 ἣ παντότολμος, ὥσπερ ἐν μάχης τροπῇ.

✓ δοκεῖ δὲ χαίρειν νοστήμῳ σωτηρίᾳ.  
 — καὶ τῶνδ' ὅμοιον εἴ τι μὴ πείθω· τί γάρ;  
 τὸ μέλλον ἤξει. καὶ σύ \* μ' ἐν τάχει παρῶν 1240  
 ἄγαν ἀληθόμαντιν οἰκτεῖρας ἑρεῖς.

ΧΟ. τὴν μὲν Θυέστου δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν  
 ξυνῆκα καὶ πέφρικα· καὶ φόβος μ' ἔχει  
 — κλύοντ' ἀληθῶς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα.  
 τὰ δ' ἄλλ' ἀκούσας ἐκ δρόμον πεσῶν τρέχω. 1245

ΚΑ. Ἀγαμέμνονός σέ φημ' ἐπόψεσθαι μόρον.

ΧΟ. εὖφημον, ὦ τάλαινα, κοίμησον στόμα.

ΚΑ. ἄλλ' οὔτι Παιῶν τῷδ' ἐπιστατεῖ λόγῳ.

ΧΟ. οὐκ, \* εἶπερ ἔσται γ'. ἀλλὰ μὴ γένοιτό πως.

ΚΑ. σὺ μὲν κατεύχει, τοῖς δ' ἀποκτείνειν μέλει. 1250

ΧΟ. τίνος πρὸς ἀνδρὸς τοῦτ' ἄχος πορσύνεται;

ΚΑ. ἣ κάρτα \* τᾶρ' ἂν παρεκόπης χρησμάτων ἐμῶν.

ΧΟ. τοῦ γὰρ τελούντος οὐ ξυνῆκα μηχανήν.

ΚΑ. καὶ μὴν ἄγαν γ' Ἑλλην' ἐπίσταμαι φάτιν.

ΧΟ. καὶ γὰρ τὰ πυθόκραμτα· δυσμαθῇ δ' ὅμως. 1255

ΚΑ. παπαῖ, οἶον τὸ πῦρ· ἐπέρχεται δέ μοι.

ὅτοτοί, Λύκει' Ἀπολλόν, οἱ ἐγὼ ἐγώ.

αὕτη δίπους λέαινα συγκοιμωμένη

1231. τοιάδε τολμῇ V. Fl. τοιαῦτα Fa. corr. Karst. 1235.  
 ἀρὰν MSS. text Pors. Ἄρην Butler. 1240. μὴν MSS. 1249.  
 εἰ πάρεσται MSS. 1252. κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπης (ei suprascript.)  
 Fl. V. παρεσκόπ(ης suprasc.) Fa. παρεσκόπεις Vict. κάρτα τᾶρα  
 παρεκόπης Hart. 1258. δίπους V. Fl. Fa. text Vict.

λύκῳ, λέοντος εὐγενοῦς ἀπουσία,  
 κτενεῖ με τὴν τάλαιναν· ὥς δὲ φάρμακον 1260  
 τεύχουσα κάμου μισθὸν ἐνθήσειν κότῳ  
 ἐπεύχεται, θήγουσα φωτὶ φάσγανον,  
 ἐμῆς ἀγωγῆς ἀντιτίσασθαι φόνον.  
 τί δῆτ' ἐμαυτῆς καταγέλωτ' ἔχω τάδε,  
 καὶ σκῆπτρα καὶ μαντεῖα περὶ δέρῃ στέφη ; 1265  
 σὲ μὲν πρὸ μοίρας τῆς ἐμῆς διαφθερῶ.  
 ἴτ' ἐς φθόρον· πεσόντα \* θ' ὦδ' ἀμείψομαι·  
 ἄλλην τιν' \* ἄτης ἀντ' ἐμοῦ πλουτίζετε.  
 ἰδοὺ δ' Ἀπόλλων αὐτὸς ἐκδύων ἐμὲ  
 χρηστηρίαν ἐσθῆτ', ἐποπτεύσας δέ με 1270  
 κὰν τοῖσδε κόσμοις καταγελωμένῃ \* μέγα  
 φίλῳν ὑπ' ἐχθρῶν οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην—  
 καλουμένη δὲ φοιτᾷς ὥς ἀγύρτριά  
 πτωχὸς τάλαινα λιμοθνής ἤνεσχόμην—  
 καὶ νῦν ὁ μάντις μάντιν ἐκπράξας ἐμὲ 1275  
 ἀπήγαγ' ἐς τοιάσδε θανασίμους τύχας.  
 βωμοῦ πατρώου δ' ἀντ' ἐπὶ ξηνον μένει  
 θερμῷ κοπέλης φοινῶ προσφάγματι.  
 οὐ μὴν ἄτιμοί γ' ἐκ θεῶν τεθνήξομεν.  
 ἦξει γὰρ ἡμῶν ἄλλος αὖ τιμάορος, 1280  
 μητροκτόνον φίλυμα, ποινάτωρ πατρός·  
 φυγὰς δ' ἀλήτης τῆσδε γῆς ἀπόξενος  
 κάτεισιν, ἅτας τάσδε θριγκώσων φίλοις·  
 ὁμώμοται γὰρ ὄρκος ἐκ θεῶν μέγας  
 † ἄξειν νιν ὑπτίασμα κειμένου πατρός. 1285  
 τί δῆτ' ἐγὼ \* κάτοικτος ὦδ' ἀναστένω ;

1261. ἐνθήσει V. Fl. text Fa. 1267. ἀγαθὸν δ' ἀμείψομαι  
 MSS. πεσόντ'· ἐγὼ δ' ἀμ' ἐψομαι H. text A. W. Verrall. 1268.  
 ἄτην MSS. corr. Stan. 1271. μετὰ MSS. corr. H. 1284. MSS.  
 read this after 1290. corr. H. 1286. κάτοικτος MSS. corr. Scal.

ἐπεὶ τὸ πρῶτον εἶδον Ἴλιου πόλιν  
 πράξασαν ὥς ἔπραξεν, οἳ δ' \* εἶλον πόλιν,  
 οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουσιν ἐν θεῶν κρίσει,  
 ἰοῦσα πράξω· τλήσομαι τὸ κατθανεῖν. 1290

Ἄιδου πύλας δὲ \* τάσδ' ἐγὼ προσευνέπω.  
 ἐπεύχομαι δὲ καιρίας πληγῆς τυχεῖν,  
 ὥς ἀσφάδαστος, αἱμάτων εὐθυησίμων  
 ἀπορρυνέντων, ὄμμα συμβάλω τόδε.

ΧΟ. ᾧ πολλὰ μὲν τάλαινα, πολλὰ δ' αὖ σοφῇ 1295  
 γύναι, μακρὰν ἔτεινας. εἰ δ' ἐτητύμως  
 μόρον τὸν αὐτῆς οἶσθα, πῶς θεηλάτου  
 βοὸς δίκην πρὸς βωμὸν εὐτόλμως πατεῖς ;

ΚΑ. οὐκ ἔστ' ἄλυξίς, οὐ, ξένοι, \* χρόνον πλέω.

ΧΟ. ὁ δ' ὕστατός γε τοῦ χρόνου πρεσβεύεται. 1300

ΚΑ. ἦκει τόδ' ἡμαρ· σμικρὰ κερδανῶ φυγῇ.

ΧΟ. ἀλλ' ἴσθι τλήμων οὖσ' ἀπ' εὐτόλμου φρενός.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εὐκλεῶς τοι κατθανεῖν χάρις βροτῶ.

ΧΟ. οὐδεὶς ἀκούει ταῦτα τῶν εὐδαιμόνων.

ΚΑ. ἰὼ πάτερ σοῦ τῶν τε γενναίων τέκνων. 1305

ΧΟ. τί δ' ἐστὶ χρήμα, τίς σ' ἀποστρέφει φόβος ;

ΚΑ. φεῦ φεῦ.

ΧΟ. τί τοῦτ' ἔφευξας ; εἴ τι μὴ φρενῶν στύγος.

ΚΑ. φόνον δόμοι πνέουσιν αἱματοσταγῇ.

ΧΟ. καὶ πῶς ; τόδ' ὄξει θυμάτων ἐφεστίων. 1310

ΚΑ. ὅμοιος ἀτμὸς ὥσπερ ἐκ τάφου πρέπει.

ΧΟ. οὐ Σύριον ἀγλαῖσμα δώμασιν λέγεις.

ΚΑ. ἀλλ' εἴμι κὰν δόμοισι κωκύσουσ' ἐμῇ  
 Ἀγαμέμνονός τε μοῖραν. ἀρκέτω βίος.

1288. εἶχον MSS. corr. Musgr. 1291. τὰς λέγω MSS. corr.  
 Aur. 1299. χρόνῳ MSS. 1309. φόβον MSS., but Fa. has ν  
 over the β.

ἰὼ ξένοι.

1315

οὔτοι δυσολίζω θάμνον ὥς ὄρνις φόβῳ  
 ἄλλως· θανούσῃ μαρτυρεῖτέ μοι τόδε,  
 ὅταν γυνὴ γυναικὸς ἀντ' ἐμοῦ θάνῃ,  
 ἀνὴρ τε δυσδάμαρτος ἀντ' ἀνδρὸς πέσῃ.  
 ἐπιξενούμαι ταῦτα δ' ὥς θανουμένη.

1320

ΧΟ. ὦ τλήμον, οἰκτείρω σε θεσφάτου μόρου.

ΚΑ. ἅπαξ ἔτ' εἰπεῖν ῥῆσιν, \* οὐ θρήνον θέλω  
 ἐμὸν τὸν αὐτῆς. ἡλίου δ' ἐπεύχομαι  
 πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς † τοῖς ἐμοῖς τιμαόροις,  
 ἐχθροῖς φονεύσι τοῖς ἐμοῖς τίνειν ὁμοῦ, †  
 δούλης θανούσης, εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος.

1325

ἰὼ βρότεια πράγματ'· εὐτυχοῦντα μὲν  
 \* σκιᾷ τις ἂν πρέψειεν· εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ,  
 βολαῖς ὑγρώσσω σπόγγος ὥλεσεν γραφήν.  
 καὶ ταῦτ' ἐκείνων μᾶλλον οἰκτείρω πολύ.

1330

ΧΟ. τὸ μὲν εὖ πράσσειν ἀκόρεστον ἔφν

πᾶσι βροτοῖσιν· δακτυλοδείκτων δ'  
 οὔτις ἀπειπὼν εἴργει μελάρων,  
 'μηκέτ' ἐσέλθῃς τάδε' φωνῶν.  
 καὶ τῷδε πόλιν μὲν ἐλείν ἔδοσαν  
 μάκαρες Πριάμον,

1335

θεοτίμητος δ' οἴκαδ' ἰκάνει·  
 νῦν δ' εἰ προτέρων αἰμ' ἀποτίσει,  
 καὶ τοῖσι θανοῦσι θανῶν ἄλλων  
 ποιναὺς θανάτων \* ἐπικραίνει,  
 τίς ἂν εὖζαιτο \* βροτὸς ὦν ἀσινεῖ

1340

1317. ἀλλ' ὥς θανούσῃ MSS. corr. H. 1322. ἡ MSS. corr. H.  
 1323. ἡλίφ MSS. corr. Jacobs. 1328. σκιὰ τις ἀντρέψειεν MSS. ἂν  
 Pors. πρέψειεν H. σκιᾷ Con. 1340. ἐπικρανεῖ Fl. V. ἄγαν  
 ἐπικρανεῖ Fa. corr. H. 1341. βροτῶν MSS. corr. Bothe.

δαίμονι φῦναι τὰδ' ἀκούων ;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι, πέπληγμαί καιρίαν πληγὴν ἔσω.

## ΗΜΙΧΟΡΟΙ.

ΗΜ. σίγα· τίς πληγὴν αὐτεῖ καιρίως οὐτασμένος ;

ΑΓ. ὦμοι μάλ' αἰθίς, δευτέραν πεπληγμένος. 1345

ΗΜ. τοῦργον εἰργάσθαι δοκεῖ μοι βασιλέως οἰμώγματι,  
ἀλλὰ κοινωσώμεθ' \*ἦν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλευμάτων\* \*ἦ.

ΗΜ. ἐγὼ μὲν ὑμῖν τὴν ἐμὴν γνώμην λέγω,  
πρὸς δῶμα δεῦρ' ἀστοῖσι κηρύσσειν βοήν.

ΗΜ. ἐμοὶ δ' ὅπως τάχιστα γ' ἐμπεσεῖν δοκεῖ 1350  
καὶ πρᾶγμ' ἐλέγχειν ξὺν νεορρύτῳ ξίφει.

ΗΜ. κἀγὼ τοιοῦτου γνώματος κοινῶνδς ὦν  
ψηφίζομαι τι δρᾶν. τὸ μὴ μέλλειν δ' ἀκμή.

ΗΜ. ὁρᾶν πάρεστι· φροιμιάζονται γὰρ ὡς  
τυραννίδος σημεῖα πράσσοντες πόλει. 1355

ΗΜ. χρονίζομεν γάρ. οἱ δὲ \*τῆς μελλούσης κλέος  
\*πέδοι πατοῦντες οὐ καθεύδουσιν χερσί.

ΗΜ. οὐκ οἶδα βουλῆς ἡστινος τυχὼν λέγω.  
τοῦ δρῶντός ἐστι καὶ τὸ βουλευσάι πέρι.

ΗΜ. κἀγὼ τοιοῦτός εἰμ', ἐπεὶ δυσμηχανῶ 1360  
λόγοισι τὸν θανόντ' ἀνιστάναι πάλιν.

ΗΜ. ἦ καὶ βίον \*τείνοντες ὧδ' ὑπείξομεν  
δόμων καταισχυνητήρσι τοῖσδ' ἡγουμένοις ;

ΗΜ. ἀλλ' οὐκ ἀνεκτόν, ἀλλὰ κατθανεῖν κρατεῖ.  
πεπαιτέρα γὰρ μοῖρα τῆς τυραννίδος. 1365

ΗΜ. ἦ γὰρ τεκμηρίοισιν ἐξ οἰμωγμάτων  
μαντευσόμεσθα τάνδρὸς ὡς ὀλωλότης ;

1347. ἀν . . . βουλευματα MSS. 1356. μελλούσης Fa. τῆς  
μελλούσης Fl. V. 1357. πέδον MSS. corr. H. 1362. κτείνοντες  
MSS.

ΗΜ. σάφ' εἰδóτας χρὴ τῶνδε \*θυμοῦσθαι πέρι.

τὸ γὰρ τοπάζειν τοῦ σάφ' εἰδέναι δίχα.

ΗΜ. ταύτην ἐπαινεῖν πάντοθεν πληθύνομαι, 1370

— τρανῶς Ἀτρεΐδην εἰδέναι κυροῦνθ' ὅπως.

ΚΛ. πολλῶν πάροιθεν καιρίως εἰρημένων

τάναντί' εἰπεῖν οὐκ ἐπαισχυνθήσομαι.

πῶς γάρ τις ἐχθροῖς ἐχθρὰ πορσύνων, φίλοις

δοκοῦσιν εἶναι, \*πῆμονῆς ἀρκύστατ' ἂν 1375

φράξειεν ὕψος κρεῖσσον ἐκπηδήματος;

ἐμοὶ δ' ἁγῶν ὅδ' οὐκ ἀφρόντιστος πάλαι

\*νεῖκης παλαιᾶς ἦλθε, σὺν χρόνῳ γε μήν·

ἔστηκα δ' ἔνθ' ἔπαισ' ἐπ' ἐξεργασμένοις.

οὕτω δ' ἐπραξα, καὶ τὰδ' οὐκ ἀρνήσομαι 1380

ὥς μήτε φεύγειω μήτ' ἀμύνασθαι μόρον.

ἄπειρον ἀμφίβληστρον, ὥσπερ ἰχθύων,

περιστιχίζω, πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν.

παῖω δέ νιν δίσ· κὰν δυοῖν οἰμώγμασι

μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα· καὶ πεπτωκότι 1385

τρίτην ἐπενδίδωμι, τοῦ κατὰ χθονὸς

† Ἀϊδου νεκρῶν σωτήρος εὐκταίαν χάριν.

οὕτω τὸν αὐτοῦ θυμὸν ὀρμαίνει πεσών·

κακφυσιῶν ὀξεῖαν αἵματος σφαγὴν

βάλλει μ' ἐρεμνῇ ψακάδι φοινίκας δρόσον, 1390

χαίρουσαν οὐδὲν ἦσσαν ἢ \*διοσδότῳ

γάνει σπορητὸς κάλυκος ἐν λοχεύμασιν.

ὥς ὧδ' ἐχόντων, πρέσβος Ἀργείων τόδε,

χαίροιτ' ἂν, εἰ χαίροιτ', ἐγὼ δ' ἐπεύχομαι.

εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων ὥστ' ἐπισπένδειν νεκρῷ, 1395

1368. μυθοῦσθαι MSS. corr. E. A. Ahrens.

1375. πῆμονῆν

ἀρκύστατον MSS. πῆμονῆς Aug. ἀρκύστατ' ἂν Elmsl.

1378.

νείκης MSS. corr. Heath.

1381. ἀμύνασθαι V. Fl. Fa.

ἀμύνεσθαι

Vict. and many edd.

1387. Ἀϊδου MSS. Αἰδὸς Enger.

1391.

Αἰδὸς νότῳ γὰρ, εἰ MSS. corr. Pors.



\* τῷδ' ἂν δικάως ἦν, ὑπερδίκως μὲν οὖν.  
τοσῶνδε κρατῆρ' ἐν δόμοις κακῶν ὕδε  
πλήσας ἀραίων, αὐτὸς ἐκπίνει μολῶν.

ΧΟ. θαυμάζομέν σου γλῶσσαν, ὡς θρασύστομος,  
ἥτις τοιόνδ' ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ κομπάζεις λόγον. 1400

ΚΛ. πειρᾶσθέ μου γυναικὸς ὡς ἀφράσμονος,  
ἐγὼ δ' ἀτρέστῳ καρδίᾳ πρὸς εἰδότας  
λέγω· σὺ δ' αἰνεῖν εἶτε με ψέγειν θέλεις  
ὅμοιον. οὗτός ἐστιν Ἀγαμέμνων, ἐμὸς  
πόσις, νεκρὸς δέ, τῇσδε δεξιᾷς χερὸς 1405  
ἔργον εἰκάλας τέκονος. τάδ' ὧδ' ἔχει.

ΧΟ. τί κακόν, ὦ γύναι, χθονοτρεφὲς ἐδανὸν στρ.  
ἧ ποτὸν πασαμένα \* ῥυτᾶς ἐξ ἄλδς ὄρμενον  
τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος δημοθρόους τ' ἀράς ;  
ἀπέδικες, ἀπέταμές \* τ'· ἀπόπολις δ' ἔσει, 1410  
μῖσος ὄβριμον ἀστοῖς.

ΚΛ. νῦν μὲν δικάζεις ἐκ πόλεως φυγὴν ἐμοὶ  
καὶ μῖσος ἀστῶν δημόθρους τ' ἔχειν ἀράς,  
οὐδὲν \* τότ' ἀνδρὶ τῷδ' ἐναντίον φέρων·  
ὃς σὺ προτιμῶν, ὥσπερ εἰ βοτοῦ μόρον, 1415  
μήλων φλεόντων εὐπόκοις νομεύμασιν,  
ἔθυσεν αὐτοῦ παῖδα, φιλτάτην ἐμοὶ  
ὠδῖν', ἐπῳδὸν Θρηκίων \* ἀημάτων.  
οὐ τοῦτον ἐκ γῆς τῇσδε χρῆν σ' ἀνδρηλατεῖν,  
μιασματῶν ἄποιν' ; ἐπήκοος δ' ἐμῶν 1420  
ἔργων δικαστῆς τραχὺς εἶ. λέγω δέ σοι  
τοιαῦτ' ἀπειλεῖν, ὡς παρεσκευασμένης  
ἐκ τῶν ὁμῶν χειρὶ νικήσαντ' ἐμοῦ

1396. τάδε MSS. 1408. ρυσᾶς MSS. 1410. ἀπέταμες ἀπολις  
MSS. τ' K. ἀπόπολις Seid. 1414. τόδ' MSS. 1418. τε λημμάτων  
MSS. corr. Cant. 1419. χρή MSS.

ἄρχειν· ἂν δὲ τοῦμπαλιν κραλῆν θεός,  
γνώσει διδαχθεὶς ὅψε γοῦν τὸ σωφρονεῖν. 1425

ΧΟ. μεγαλόμητις εἶ, περίφρονα δ' ἔλακες,  
ὥσπερ οὖν φονολιβεῖ τύχα φρὴν ἐπιμαίνεται·  
λίβος ἐπ' ὀμμάτων αἵματος \*ἐμπρέπει·  
ἀτίετον ἔτι σὲ χρὴ στερομέναν φίλων  
τύμμα τύμματι τίσαι. 1430

ΚΛ. καὶ τήνδ' ἀκούεις ὀρκίων ἐμῶν θέμιν·  
μὰ τὴν τέλειον τῆς ἐμῆς παιδὸς δίκην,  
Ἄτην Ἑρινύν θ', αἰσι τόνδ' ἔσφαξ' ἐγώ,  
οὐ μοι φόβου μέλαθρον ἐλπίς ἐμπατεῖ,  
ἕως ἂν αἴθῃ πῦρ ἐφ' ἐστίας ἐμῆς 1435  
Αἰγισθος, ὥς τὸ πρόσθεν εὖ φρονῶν ἐμοί.  
οὗτος γὰρ ἡμῖν ἀσπίς οὐ μικρὰ θράσους.  
κεῖται γυναικὸς τῆσδε λυμαντήριος,  
Χρυσηίδων μείλιγμα τῶν ὑπ' Ἰλίῳ,  
ἧ τ' αἰχμάλωτος ἦδε καὶ τερασκόπος, 1440  
καὶ κοινόλεκτρος τοῦδε, θεσφατηλόγος  
πιστὴ ζύνευνος, ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων  
\*ἰσοτριβῆς. ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην.  
ὁ μὲν γὰρ οὕτως· ἡ δέ τοι κύκνου δίκην  
τὸν ὕστατον μέλψασα θανάσιμον γόον 1445  
κεῖται φιλήτωρ \*τῷδ', ἐμοὶ δ' ἐπήγαγεν  
εὐνῆς παροψώνημα τῆς ἐμῆς χλιδῆς.

ΧΟ. φεῦ, τίς ἂν ἐν τάχει, μὴ περιώδυνος,  
μηδὲ δεμνιοτήρης,  
μόλοι τὸν ἀεὶ φέρουσ' ἐν ἡμῖν 1450  
μοῖρ' ἀτέλευτον ὕπνον, δαμέντος

1428. εὖ πρέπει ἀτίετον Fa. εὖ πρέπει ἀντίετον Fl. εὐπρέπειαν  
τίετον V. ἐμπρέπει Aurat. 1443. ἰσοτριβῆς. corr. Pauw. 1446.  
τοῦδ' MSS. corr. H.

φύλακος εὐμενεστάτου

\* πολέα τλάντος γυναικὸς διαί·

πρὸς γυναικὸς δ' ἀπέφθισεν βίον.

ἰὼ \* ἰὼ \* παράνους Ἑλένα στρ. α'. 1455.

μία τὰς πολλὰς, τὰς πάνυ πολλὰς

ψυχὰς ὀλέσας ὑπὸ Τροίᾳ.

νῦν δὲ τελείαν \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

\* \* \* \* \*

† πολύμναστον ἐπηγθίσω [δι'] αἶμ' ἀνιπτον.

\* ἦ τις ἦν τότε ἐν δόμοις. 1460

ἔρις ἐριδμάτος ἀνδρὸς οἰζύς.†

ΚΛ. μηδὲν θανάτου μοῖραν ἐπεύχου στρ. β'.

τοῖσδε βαρυνθεῖς·

μηδ' εἰς Ἑλένην κότον ἐκτρέψης,

ὥς ἀνδρολέτειρ', ὥς μία πολλῶν 1465

ἀνδρῶν ψυχὰς Δαναῶν ὀλέσας

· ἀξύστατον ἄλγος ἔπραξε.

ΧΟ. δαίμον', ὃς ἐμπίτνεις δώμασι καὶ \* διφυί-

οῖσι Τανταλίδαισιν,

κράτος τ' ἰσόψυχον ἐκ γυναικῶν 1470

\* καρδιόδηκτον ἐμοὶ κρατύνεις.

ἐπὶ δὲ σώματος δίκαν

κόρακος ἐχθροῦ σταθεῖς ἐκνόϊως

ὑμνον ὑμνεῖν \* \* ἐπεύχεται.

1453. καὶ πολλὰ MSS. πολέα Haupt. 1455. ἰὼ παρὰ νόμους MSS.  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ Blomf. παρὰ νόμους H. 1459. δι' MSS. 1460. ἦ τις MSS.  
 corr. Eng. 1468. ἐμπίττεις MSS. διφυεῖσι MSS. corr. H. 1471.  
 καρδίᾳ δηκτόν MSS. 1472. δίκαν μοι MSS. 1473. σταθεῖς MSS.  
 corr. Schütz. Pors. ἐκνόμους V. Fl. text Fa.

- ΚΛ. νῦν δ' ὄρθωσας στόματος γνώμην, ἀντ. β'. 1475  
 τὸν \*τριπάχυντον  
 δαίμονα γένυης τῆσδε κικλήσκων.  
 ἐκ τοῦ γὰρ ἔρως αἱματολοιχὸς  
 †νεῖρει τρέφεται, πρὶν καταλήξαι  
 τὸ παλαιὸν ἄχος, νέος ἰχώρ. 1480
- ΧΟ. ἦ μέγαν \*οἰκονόμον στρ. γ'.  
 δαίμονα καὶ βαρύμηνιν αἰνεῖς.  
 φεῦ φεῦ, κακὸν αἶνον ἀτη-  
 ρᾶς τύχας ἀκορέστου  
 ἰὼ, ἰὼ διαὶ Διὸς 1485  
 παῖναιτίου πανεργέτα,  
 τί γὰρ βροτοῖς ἄνευ Διὸς τελεῖται;  
 τί τῶνδ' οὐ θεόκραντόν ἐστιν;  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω; 1490  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;  
 κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'  
 ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.  
 ὦμοι μοι κοῖταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον  
 δολίῳ μὶθῳ δαμεῖς 1495  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ.
- ΚΛ. αὐχεῖς εἶναι τόδε τοῦργον ἐμόν.  
 μηδ' ἐπιλεχθῆς  
 Ἄγαμεμνονίαν εἶναι μ' ἄλοχον.  
 φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ 1500  
 τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλάστωρ  
 Ἀτρέως χαλεποῦ θοινατῆρος

1476. τριπάχυνον MSS. corr. Bamb. 1481. οἰκοῖς τοῖσδε MSS.  
 corr. Schn. K. 1486. πανεργέταν Fl. V. text Fa. 1498. text  
 V. Fl. μὴ δ' Fa. μηκέτι λεχθῆ δ' H.

τόνδ' ἀπέτισεν,  
τέλεον νεαροῖς ἐπιθύσας.

- ΧΟ. ὥς μὲν ἀναίτιος εἶ ἀντ. γ'. 1505  
 τοῦδε φόνου τίς ὁ μαρτυρήσων;  
 πῶ πῶ; πατρόθεν δὲ συλλή-  
 πτωρ γένοιτ' ἂν ἀλάστωρ.  
 βιάζεται δ' ὁμοσπόροις  
 ἐπιρροαῖσιν αἱμάτων 1510  
 μέλας Ἄρης † ὅποι \* δίκαν προβαίνων  
 πᾶχνα κουροβόρῳ παρέξει.†  
 ἰὼ ἰὼ βασιλεῦ βασιλεῦ,  
 πῶς σε δακρύσω;  
 φρενὸς ἐκ φιλίας τί ποτ' εἶπω;  
1515  
 κεῖσαι δ' ἀράχνης ἐν ὑφάσματι τῷδ'  
 ἀσεβεῖ θανάτῳ βίον ἐκπνέων.  
 ὦμοι μοι κοίταν τάνδ' ἀνελεύθερον  
 δολίῳ μόρῳ δαμείς  
 ἐκ χερὸς ἀμφιτόμῳ βελέμνῳ. 1520
- ΚΛ. [οὔτ' ἀνελεύθερον οἶμαι θάνατον  
 τῷδε γενέσθαι.]  
 οὐδὲ γὰρ οὗτος δολίαν ἄτην  
 οἴκοισιν ἔθηκ';  
 ἀλλ' ἐμὸν ἐκ τοῦδ' ἔρνος ἀερθέν,  
1525  
 τὴν πολύκλαυτόν τ' Ἰφιγενείαν,  
 \* ἄξια δράσας ἄξια πάσχων  
 μηδὲν ἐν Αἰδου μεγαλαυχεῖτω,  
 ξιφοδηλήτῳ  
 θανάτῳ τίσας ἅπερ ἤρξεν.
- ΧΟ. ἀμηχανῶ φροντίδος στερηθεῖς στρ. δ'. 1530

1511. δὲ καὶ προβαίνων MSS. προβαίνων Cant. δίκην Butl.  
 δίκαν Scholef. 1521-2. Probably spurious. 1527. ἀνάξια MSS.

- εὐπάλαμον μέριμναν  
 ὅπα τράπωμαι, πίνοντος οἴκου.  
 δέδοικα δ' ὄμβρου κτύπον δομοσφαλῇ  
 τὸν αἵματηρόν· ψακὰς δὲ λήγει.  
 δίκην δ' ἐπ' ἄλλο πρᾶγμα \* θηγάνει βλάβης 1535  
 πρὸς ἄλλαις θηγάναισι Μοῖρα.  
 ἰὼ γὰ γὰ, εἴθ' ἔμ' ἐδέξω, ἀντ. α'.  
 πρὶν τόνδ' ἐπιθεῖν ἀργυροτοίχου  
 δροίτας κατέχοντα χαμένυναν. 1540  
 τίς ὁ θάψων νιν; τίς ὁ θρηνήσων;  
 ἦ σὺ τόδ' ἔρξαι τλήσει, κτείνας  
 ἄνδρα τὸν αὐτῆς, ἀποκωκῦσαι  
 ψυχὴν, ἄχαριν χάριν ἀντ' ἔργων 1545  
 μεγάλων ἀδίκως ἐπικρᾶναι;  
 τίς δ' \* ἐπιτύμβιον αἶνον ἐπ' ἀνδρὶ θείῳ  
 σὺν δακρύοις ἰάπτων  
 ἀλαθείᾳ φρενῶν πονήσει; 1550  
 ΚΛ. οὐ σὲ προσήκει τὸ μέλημα λέγειν στρ. ε'.  
 τοῦτο· πρὸς ἡμῶν  
 κάππεσε, κάθανε, καὶ καταθάσσομεν  
 οὐχ ὑπὸ κλαυθμῶν τῶν ἐξ οἴκων,  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 \* \* \* \* \*  
 ἀλλ' Ἰφιγένειά νιν ἀσπασίως 1555  
 θυγάτηρ, ὥς χρή,  
 πατέρ' ἀντιάσασα πρὸς ὠκύπορον  
 πόρθμευμ' ἀχέων  
 περὶ \* χεῖρε βαλοῦσα φιλήσει.

1535. δίκη MSS. corr. Aur. θήγει MSS. corr. H. δίκη . . . θηγά-  
 ναις μάχαιραν Musgr. θηγάναις MSS. 1547. ἐπιτύμβιος αἶνος  
 MSS. corr. Voss. Stanl. 1555. Ἰφιγένειαν ἴν MSS. corr. Jacob.  
 1559. χεῖρα MSS.

- ΧΟ. ὄνειδος ἦκει τόδ' ἀντ' ὀνειδους.     ἀντ. δ'.     1560  
 • δύσμαχα δ' ἐστὶ κρίναι.  
 φέρει φέροντ', ἐκτίνει δ' ὁ καίνων.  
 • μίμνει δὲ μίμνοντος ἐν \*θρόνῳ Διὸς  
 παθεῖν τὸν ἔρξαντα. θέσμιον γάρ  
 τίς ἂν γονὰν \*ἄρῳ ἐκβάλῃ δόμων;     •     1565  
 κεκόλληται γένος \*πρὸς ἅτα.  
 ΚΛ. ἐς τόνδ' ἐνέβη ξὺν ἀληθείᾳ     •     ἀντ. ε'.  
 \*χρησμός. ἐγὼ δ' οὖν  
 ἐθέλω δαίμονι τῷ Πλεισθενιδῶν  
 ὄρκους θεμένῃ τάδε μὲν στέργειν,     1570  
 δύσκλητά περ ὄνθ'. ὁ δὲ λοιπόν, ἴοντ'  
 ἐκ τῶνδε δόμων ἄλλην γενεὰν  
 τρίβειν θανάτοις αὐθένταισι.  
 κτεάνων τε μέρος  
 βαῖον ἐχούσῃ πᾶν ἀπόχρη μοι     1575  
 μανίας μελάβρων  
 ἀλληλοφόνους ἀφελούσῃ.

## ΑΙΓΙΣΘΟΣ.

- ὦ φέγγος εὐφρον ἡμέρας δικηφόρου.  
 φαίην ἂν ἤδη νῦν βροτῶν τιμαόρους  
 θεοὺς ἄνωθεν γῆς ἐποπτεύειν ἄχῃ,  
 ἰδὼν ὑφαντοῖς ἐν πέπλοις Ἑρινύων     1580  
 τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδε κείμενον φίλως ἐμοί,  
 χερὸς πατρώας \*ἐκτείνοντα μηχανάς.  
 Ἄτρεὺς γὰρ ἄρχων τῆσδε γῆς, τούτου πατήρ,

1563. χρόνῳ MSS. corr. Schütz.     1565. βῆον MSS. corr. H.  
 1566. προσάψαι MSS. corr. Blomf.     1568. χρησμός MSS.     1575.  
 μοι δ' | ἀλληλοφόνους MSS.     δ' has come from hiatus, hiatus from  
 wrong order; corr. Erfurdt.     1582. ἐκτείνοντα MSS.

πατέρα Θνέστην τὸν ἐμόν, ὥς τορῶς φράσαι,  
 αὐτοῦ τ' ἀδελφόν, ἀμφίλεκτος ὦν κράτει, 1585  
 ἡνδρηλάτησεν ἐκ πόλεώς τε καὶ δόμων.  
 καὶ προστρόπαιος ἐστίας μολὼν πάλιν  
 τλήμων Θνέστης μοῖραν εὔρετ' ἀσφαλῆ,  
 τὸ μὴ θανὼν πατρῶον αἰμάξαι πέδον.  
 [αὐτοῦ.] ξένια δὲ τοῦδε δύσθεος πατήρ 1590  
 [Ἀτρεὺς, προθύμως μᾶλλον ἢ φίλως,] πατρὶ  
 τῷμῳ, κρερυργὸν ἡμαρ εὐθύμως ἄγειν  
 δοκῶν, παρέσχε δαῖτα παιδείων κρεῶν.  
 τὰ μὲν ποδῆρη καὶ χερῶν ἄκρους κτένας  
 † ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος 1595  
 \* ἄσημ'. ὁ δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοία λαβὼν †  
 ἔσθει βορὰν ἄσωτον, ὥς ὀρᾷς, γένει.  
 κάπειτ' ἐπιγνοὺς ἔργον οὐ καταλσιον,  
 ὤμωξεν, ἀμπίπτει δ' † ἀπὸ \* σφαγῆν ἐρῶν, †  
 μόρον δ' ἄφερτον Πελοπίδαις ἐπεύχεται, 1600  
 λάκτισμα δείπνου ξυνδίκως τιθεὶς ἀρᾷ,  
 οὕτως ὀλέσθαι πᾶν τὸ Πλεισθένους γένος.  
 ἐκ τῶνδ' εἰ σοὶ πεσόντα τόνδ' ἰδεῖν πάρα.  
 καγὼ δίκαιος τοῦδε τοῦ φόνου ῥαφεύς.  
 τρίτον γὰρ ὄντα μ' ἐπὶ \* δυσαθλίῳ πατρὶ 1605  
 συνεξελαύνει τυτθὸν ὄντ' ἐν σπαργάνοις.  
 τραφέντα δ' αὖθις ἡ δίκη κατήγαγεν.  
 καὶ τοῦδε τάνδρὸς ἡψάμην θυραῖος ὦν,  
 πᾶσαν συνάψας μηχανὴν δυσβουλίας.  
 οὕτω καλὸν δὴ καὶ τὸ κατθανεῖν ἐμοί, 1610

1590-1. Bracketed parts in MSS., but very probably spurious.  
 1595. ἔθρυπτ' Cas. 1596. ἄσημα δ' MSS. text H. D. 1599.  
 ἀν. πίπτει MSS. corr. Cant. σφαγῆς MSS. text Hart. ἐρῶν MSS.  
 ἐμῶν edd. 1605. ἐπὶ δέκ' ἀθλίῳ MSS. text Schöm. Karst.



ἰδόντα τοῦτον τῆς δίκης ἐν ἔρκεσιν.

ΧΟ. Αἰγισθ', ὑβρίζειν ἐν κακοῖσιν οὐ σέβω.  
 σὺ δ' ἄνδρα τόνδε φῆς ἐκὼν κατακτανεῖν,  
 μόνος δ' ἐποικτον τόνδε βουλευσάι φόνον·  
 οὗ φημ' ἀλύξειν ἐν δίκῃ τὸ σὸν κάρα 1615  
 δημορριφεῖς, σάφ' ἴσθι, λευσίμονς ἀράς.

ΑΙ. σὺ ταῦτα φωνεῖς νερτέρᾳ προσήμενος  
 κώπῃ, κρατούντων τῶν ἐπὶ ζυγῷ δορός ;  
 γνώσει γέρων ὦν ὡς διδάσκεσθαι βαρὺ  
 τῷ τηλικούτῳ, σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον. 1620  
 δεσμός δὲ καὶ τὸ γῆρας αἶ τε νῆστιδες  
 δύαι διδάσκειν ἐξοχώταται φρενῶν  
 ἱατρομάντεϊς. οὐχ ὀρᾶς ὀρῶν τάδε ;  
 πρὸς κέντρα μὴ λάκτιζε, μὴ \*παίσας μογῆς.

ΧΟ. γύναι, σὺ τοὺς ἤκοντας ἐκ μάχης \*μένων 1625  
 οἰκουρὸς εὐνὴν ἀνδρὸς \*αἰσχύνας ἄμα  
 ἀνδρὶ στρατηγῷ τόνδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον ;

ΑΙ. καὶ ταῦτα τᾶπη κλαυμάτων ἀρχηγενῇ.  
 Ὅρφεϊ δὲ γλώσσαν τὴν ἐναντίαν ἔχεις.  
 ὁ μὲν γὰρ ἤγε πάντ' ἀπὸ φθογγῆς χαρᾶ, 1630  
 τ σὺ δ' ἐξορίνας \*νηπίοις ὑλάγμασιν  
 ἄξει· κρατηθεῖς δ' ἡμερώτερος φανεῖ.

ΧΟ. ὥς δὴ σύ μοι τύραννος Ἀργείων ἔσει,  
 ὅς οὐκ, ἐπειδὴ τῷδ' ἐβούλευσας μόρον,  
 δρᾶσαι τόδ' ἔργον οὐκ ἔτλης αὐτοκτόνως ; 1635

ΑΙ. τὸ γὰρ δολῶσαι πρὸς γυναικὸς ἦν σαφές·  
 ἐγὼ δ' ὕποπτος ἐχθρὸς ἦ παλαιγενής.  
 ἐκ τῶν δὲ τοῦδε χρημάτων πειράσομαι

1611. ἰδόντι Fa. 1613. τόνδ' ἔφησς MSS. 1621. δεσμόν  
 V. Fl. text Fa. 1624. πῆσας MSS. 1625. τοῦδ' ἤκοντος Stanl.  
 and most edd. text MSS. μένων Wieseler. νέον MSS. 1626. αἰσχύν-  
 νουσ' MSS. corr. Wieseler. 1631. ἡπίοις MSS. corr. Jacob.

ἄρχειν πολιτῶν· τὸν δὲ μὴ πειθάνορα  
 ζεύξω βαρελαῖς οὔτι μὴ σειραφόρον 1640  
 κριθῶντα πῶλον· ἀλλ' ὁ δυσφιλῆς \*σκότῳ  
 λιμὸς ξύνοικος μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται.

ΧΟ. τί δὴ τὸν ἄνδρα τόνδ' ἀπὸ ψυχῆς κακῆς  
 οὐκ αὐτὸς ἠνάριζες; ἀλλὰ †σὺν γυνῇ  
 χώρας μίasma καὶ θεῶν ἐγχωρίων 1645  
 ἔκτειν'. Ὁρέστης ἄρά που βλέπει φάος,  
 ὅπως κατελθὼν δεῦρο πρευμαενεῖ τύχη  
 ἀμφοῖν γένηται τοῖνδε παγκρατῆς φονεύς;

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐπεὶ δοκεῖς τάδ' ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, γνῶσει τάχα.

ΧΟ. \* \* \* \* \* 1650

ΑΙ. εἶα δὴ φίλοι λοχίται, τοῦργον οὐκ ἐκὰς τόδε.

ΧΟ. εἶα δὴ, ξίφος πρόκωπον πᾶς τις εὐτρεπιζέτω.

ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ μὴν κἀγὼ πρόκωπος οὐκ ἀναλνομαι θανεῖν.

ΧΟ. δεχομένοις λέγεις θανεῖν σε· τὴν τύχην δ' \*αἰ-  
 ρούμεθα. 1653

ΚΛ. μηδαμῶς, ὦ φίλτατ' ἀνδρῶν, ἄλλα \*δράσωμεν κακά.  
 ἀλλὰ καὶ τάδ' ἐξαμῆσαι πολλὰ δύστηνον \*θέρος·  
 πημονῆς δ' ἄλις γ' ὑπάρχει· μηδὲν αἰματώμεθα.

†\*στεῖχε καὶ σὺ χοὶ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους,  
 \*πεπρωμένοις

πρὶν παθεῖν \*εἰζαντες. ἄρκειν χρῆν τάδ' ὥς ἐπρά-  
 ξαμεν. †

εἰ δέ τοι μόχθων γένοιτο τῶνδ' ἄλις, \*δεχοίμεθ' ἄν,  
 δαίμονος χολῇ βαρεῖα δυστυχῶς πεπληγμένοι. 1660

1641. κότῳ MSS. Perhaps δυσφιλεῖ σκότῳ is right. 1644. σὺν  
 MSS. νιν most edd. σοὶ Sch. 1653. ἐρούμεθα MSS. 1654.  
 δράσομεν MSS. 1655. ὁ ἔρως MSS. corr. Schütz. 1656. ὑπαρχε  
 MSS. ἤματ. MSS. 1657. στείχετε δ' οἱ γέροντες πρὸς δόμους  
 πεπρωμένους τοῖσδε MSS. στείχε καὶ σὺ χοὶ Franz. πεπρωμένοις  
 Madv. 1658. παθεῖν. ἔρξαντες καιρὸν Fl. παθεῖν. ἔρξαντα κ. V. Fa.  
 ἔρξαντες. ἄρκειν H. text Madv. 1659. γ' ἐχοίμεθ' ἄν MSS. corr. H.

ὦδ' ἔχει λόγος γυναικός, εἴ τις ἀξιοῖ μαθεῖν.

ΑΙ. ἀλλὰ τοῦσδ' ἐμοὶ ματαίαν γλῶσσαν ὦδ' ἀπανθίσαι,  
κακβαλεῖν ἔπη τοιαῦτα δαίμονος πειρωμένους,  
σώφρονος γνώμης δ' ἀμαρτεῖν, τὸν κρατοῦντά \* θ'  
ὑβρίσαι. 1664

ΧΟ. οὐκ ἂν Ἀργείων τόδ' εἴη, φῶτα προσσαίνειν κακόν.

ΑΙ. ἀλλ' ἐγὼ σ' ἐν ὑστέραισιν ἡμέραις μέτξιμ' ἔτι. ✓

ΧΟ. οὔκ, ἐὰν δαίμων Ὀρέστην δεῦρ' ἀπενθύνῃ μολεῖν.

ΑΙ. οἶδ' ἐγὼ φεύγοντας ἄνδρας ἐλπίδας σιτουμένους.

ΧΟ. πρῶσσε, πιαίνου, μιάνων τὴν δίκην· ἐπεὶ πάρα.

ΑΙ. ἴσθι μοι δώσων ἄποινα τῇσδε μωρίας χάριν. 1670

ΧΟ. κόμπασον θαρσῶν, ἀλέκτωρ ὥστε θηλείας πέλας.

ΚΛ. μὴ προτιμήσης ματαίων τῶνδ' ὑλαγμάτων \* ἐγὼ  
καὶ σὺ θήσομεν κρατοῦντε τῶνδε δωμάτων \* καλῶς.

1664. MSS. have 3 syllables wanting. θ' ὑβρίσαι Blomf. 1672.  
ἐγὼ Cant. Wanting in MSS. 1673. καλῶς Aur. Wanting in  
MSS.



Clarendon Press Series

○  
AESCHYLUS

AGAMEMNON

WITH INTRODUCTION AND NOTES

BY

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## NOTES.

[PROLOGUE. *The palace of Agamemnon at Argos, at night. Enter on the roof a watchman, who reclines head on arm, and soliloquises:*

(ll. 1-39.) 'For a year I have been watching for the fire to tell of Troy's capture; the life here is one of sadness and anxiety: now I hope for better things.' The light then appears, and he bursts into a shout of joy, broken by gloomy hints at the close.]

1. 1. The place is called Argos, and the people Argeioi, all through the play. According to the old tradition, however, Agamemnon was king of Mykenae, a town about six miles from Argos. Homer (2. 569) enumerates the towns which formed his kingdom. The use of the name Argos for Mykenae was nevertheless common in the Greek poets, and it was all the more natural now, as about B.C. 463 (five years before 458, the date of the play) Argos had defeated and dismantled Mykenae, and sold or expelled the inhabitants. Soon after this the Argeioi became allied with Athens.

The watchman is a loyal servant of Agamemnon, sent to watch for the beacon-fire which is to tell of the capture of Troy. It is possible, however, that the queen wishes for her own purposes to have early tidings of her lord's return. (Patin, Eschyle, 314.)

1. 2. 'Through this long year of watching,' lit. 'through the length of a year's watch.' μήκος, acc. of duration. (It is possible to take φρουράς as app. to πόνων, and μήκος acc. of respect, 'these toils, my watch a year in length,' but it makes a rougher, more artificial, construction. The conjecture μήχος, 'cure,' which D. adopted, is ingenious, but quite unnecessary.) ἦν κοιμώμενος, 'wherein resting.' ἦν cognate or internal acc.

1. 3. στέγαις Ἀτρεϊδῶν ἀγκαθεν, κυνὸς δίκην, 'on the roof of the Atreidae couched head on arm, like a dog.' ἀγκαθεν from ἀγκη, 'bent arm' (like the common Homeric ἀγκάς in ἀγκὰς ἐλεῖν, ἀγκὰς ἔχειν, κ.τ.λ. 'to hold, or take in the arm'), found Eum. 80 ἀγκαθεν λαβὼν βρέτας: quite a different word from ἀνέκαθεν (from ἀνω, ἔκαθεν,) 'from above,' which is clearly the right reading in Eum. 369.

Eng., Schn., Dind., read στέγης, and construe ἀγκαθεν, 'above,' con-

## AGAMEMNON.

tracted from ἀνέκαθεν, which makes good sense, but it is unlikely that Aeschylus should have used the rare word ἀνέκαθεν in a form syncopated so as to confuse it with the different word ἀγκαθεν, which we know he also uses in Eum. 80.

l. 4. κάτοιδα, 'I know well,' 'I have learnt to know.'

l. 6. δυνάστας, bright 'rulers,' as he finely calls the leading constellations whose rise marks the seasons; not 'the sun and moon,' as Pal., which in no sense bring summer and winter.

l. 7. Is no doubt a gloss. ἀστέρας is rough rhythm, a dull repetition after ἀστρων, superfluous to the construction with δυνάστας in the line before; and the whole line rather produces the effect of bathos.

l. 8. Notice the rhetorical repetitions, λαμπάδος . . πυρός, φάτιν . . βάξιν. φυλάσσω, 'I watch for.'

l. 10. ἀλώσιμον . . βάξιν, 'tidings of capture,' a rare use of the adj.; in poetry, however, there is hardly any relation to the substantive which the adj. cannot express. ὦδε γάρ, best taken simply, 'for such sway she bears, my mistress' manly heart, nursing her hope,' i.e. for I am forced to obey her. (So Eng., Schn.; Paley's κρατεῖ ἐλπίζον, 'confident in hope,' is forced and unusual; and the order is against it.) The phrase is slightly strained but not unnatural. Others take it 'for so she orders' simply: but κρατεῖ is not so used.

l. 12. The clause εὐτ' ἂν . . ἔχω, is interrupted by the parenthesis φόβος γάρ . . ὕπνῳ, and taken up again loosely but naturally by ὅταν δέ . . , so that the general sense is 'and when I keep my weary watch (for fear prevents my sleeping), and try to while away the time by song.'

l. 14. ἐμήν, with the double emphasis of being last word of the sentence and first word of the line, is very weak, and is perhaps a corruption of εὐνήν in the line before, as Hartung suggests: though neither Bentley's ἐμοί, nor Schn.'s τί μήν; is satisfactory: and we do find weak words in that position, cf. 1231, 1589. φόβος, 'the fear,' is of what will follow when the king returns; but it is only a hint, as in 19 and 31.

l. 15. τὸ μὴ . . συμβαλεῖν, a common Greek idiom, being one form of the consecutive infinitive, expressing the *result*, the sense being 'so that I cannot,' 'preventing me from.'

l. 16. αἰδεῖν. There is a proverb 'singing on watch,' (φρουρὰς ᾄδων) Arist. Clouds, 720. μινύρομαι, 'to hum,' or 'warble,' properly 'to sing in a low tone,' used often of birds. The full phrase is found Ar. Eccl. 880 μυνυρομένη πρὸς ἐμαντήν μέλος (of a woman waiting and humming a tune to while away the time). δοκῶ, 'I think to,' as we say. So Ar. Vesp. 177 τὸν ὄνον ἐξάγειν δοκῶ, Av. 671 φιλησαί μοι δοκῶ. (The construction is really an attraction into the *personal* from the *impersonal*, instead of saying δοκεῖ μοι . . . So the Greeks say δίκαιός εἰμι ποιεῖν for δίκαιόν μοι ἐστὶ ποιεῖν. See 1079.)



# NOTES. LINES 4-34.

l. 17. 'Shredding in this vocal cure in place of sleep.' ἐντέμνω, 'to slice or shred in,' is used of putting (medicinal) herbs into a potion; so here metaphorically. (K.'s ἐν τέμνω is not happy; if τέμνω is admitted, what more natural than ἐντέμνω?) Observe the mixture of sententiousness and forcible homeliness in the speech of this servant: his repetitions (8-10), and antithesis (11, 21-22), and dark hints (39), and his homely metaphors from watchdogs (3), drugs (71), dicing (32-33), oxen (36), are all characteristic.

l. 19. This cautious phrase might simply mean that the 'absence of the king was felt;' but 'to those who know' (39) it meant the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra.

l. 21. 'When with glad tidings shines the fire of darkness,' a sententious antithesis such as the rustic wit delights in. So νυκτός, ἡμερήσιον, 22. [*At this point the beacon he is watching for flashes out.* He is supposed to be looking northward toward the Argolic mountain, Arachnaion, which was the last beacon before Argos, 309.]

l. 22. 'Thou blaze of night, a daylight glare revealing,' is another of his antitheses.

l. 24. συμφορά, 'hap,' 'event,' a neutral word, here in good sense, though mostly used in a bad one.

l. 25. ἰοῦ, ἰοῦ. 'Hurrah!' exclamation of joy here; though more often of horror and woe, as 1214.

l. 26. The MSS. vary between σημαίνω (M. G.) and σημαίνω: the latter expresses his *intention* of telling Klytaemnestra; the former means 'by this cry ἰοῦ I signify to K.,' and that is rather more vigorous, and also suits τορῶς, 'loudly,' better.

l. 27. The constr. is the acc. inf. of the oblique petition, 'I signify that she should rise from her bed and upraise a shout,' etc. ἐπαντείλασαν (notice the syncope, for ἐπ-ανα-τείλασαν), a picturesque word suggesting the rise of sun or star. δόμοις might be dat. recip. 'for the house;' but more likely it is the *local* use 'in the house,' an old fashion surviving in poetry.

l. 29. εἴπερ, 'since,' as often.

l. 30. ἀγγέλλων πρέπει, 'brightly tells,' lit. 'shines telling.' Again a picturesque phrase. (ἀγγέλων of Med. etc. is clearly an error.)

l. 31. [*Here the watchman executes a triumphal dance.*]

ll. 32-33. These two lines become clear when one sees that the metaphor is all from dicing: 'My master's luck I'll mark as prosperous, now that this fire has thrown me sixes three.' θέσθαι, 'to put it down,' as we say; somewhat as θέσθαι παρ' οὐδέν, ἐν ἀδικήματι θέσθαι, κ.τ.λ.

l. 34. δ' οὖν. The regular use of these particles is in *dismissing a subject, cutting short* a train of thought, *resuming* after a digression, and such situations. ἔστω δ' οὖν ὅπως ὑμῖν φίλον Soph. O. C. 1205, οὐκ οἶδ'.

## AGAMEMNON.

ἐμοὶ δ' οὖν ἦ τ' ἄγαν σιγῇ βαρὺ ἰδ. Ant. 1250. So Ag. 224, 255. 'Well, be it mine to grasp my lord's dear hand.'

l. 35. βασιτάζω, prop. 'to bear, or lift,' so 'to feel,' 'to hold.' χέραι ἀλόχου β. Eur. Alc. 917; σῶμα β. Soph. O. C. 1105.

l. 36. The first shadow of the tragedy falls on the almost boisterous joy and playfulness of the rustic watcher, namely the dark hint of the unfaithfulness of Klytaemnestra, which is to lead to the 'worse that remains behind.' βοὺς ἐπὶ γλώσσῃ .. βέβηκε, 'a huge ox stands upon my tongue,' a pithy rustic metaphor for enforced silence; βοὺς being proverbially a *silent* animal (the idea of a reference to *bribery*—βοὺς being the ox on the old Attic coins—is less likely). βέβηκε, 'stands,' 'lies,' present sense, as is natural to perfect. So χώρος ἐν ᾧ βεβήκαμεν, 'where we stand,' Soph. O. C. 52; ἐπὶ πάλου βεβῶσαν, 'riding,' 'seated,' ἰδ. O. C. 313.

l. 38. ὧς, 'for,' gives the reason for σιγῇ. ἔκων, 'purposely,' goes with λήθομαι chiefly (as Eng., Schn., Pal., point out), the first verb, αὐδῶ, 'being less important. (Observe the Epic μαθοῦσι for τοῖς μ.) 'For purposely, as I speak to those who know, to those who know not—I forget.' λήθομαι is rather unexpected, and is another touch of what may be almost called his rustic playfulness. With this dark hint he goes off; and the chorus of Argive elders enter the orchestra by the side passage (πάροδος). The proper choral odes begin 104.

[PARODOS. ll. 40-103. *Enter the chorus, marching in time to the anapaestic song.* The general sense of the opening or entrance song is as follows: 'Ten years are passed since the Atreidae sailed forth with the fleet for vengeance, like vultures robbed of their young (40-54). Zeus Xenios is wroth with Paris and sends the avenging host, bringing long struggles for both sides, and the end to be as fate wills' (55-71). *Meanwhile the queen Klytaemnestra appears, and begins the preparations for sacrifice.* 'What hast thou heard, lady? See, all the altars begin to blaze! What does it mean? We waver between anxiety and hope' (72-103).]

ll. 40-42. 'This is the tenth year since Priam's great foe King Menelaos and Agamemnon.' It has been noticed as odd that μέγας ἀντίδικος should be applied only to Menelaos, and that Agamemnon, the 'king of men,' is second. It may be only accidental, as in the next two lines (ὄχυρόν (εὐρύγος) and below (109 δῖθρονον κράτος) they are treated with equal honour. Or, perhaps, ἀντίδικος is used strictly, and Menelaos comes first as the wronged party, Agamemnon being his helper. ἀντίδικος, metaphor from law-courts, meaning simply 'antagonist.' ἐπεὶ and even ὅτε are used in this sense 'since'; the precise phrase is ἐξ οὗ.

l. 43. διθρόνου .. τιμῆς, gen. of *description* or *equivalence* as it is called, one of the numerous shades of *relation* described by genitive.

# NOTES. LINES 35-62.

Translate, 'The mighty pair of Atreus' sons, each dowered from Zeus with rank of throne and sceptre.' (It is literally, 'pair of Atreidae, of two-throned honour,' etc., i.e. 'consisting of;' the *τιμή* is the abstract aspect of the kings.) Grammatically *τιμῆς* and *Ἀτρειδᾶν* are parallel, both being gen. after *εὐγος*. *Διόθεν* qualifies the adjectives. *Ἀτρειδᾶν*, Doric gen.; the choruses contain many Doric forms.

l. 47. *ῆραν*, 'sped'; *αἶρω*, prop. 'to lift,' is used commonly for 'to start,' both trans. *στόλον*, *στρατόν*, and intrans. *στρατῶ*, *ναυσί*, both of land and sea. It probably originally meant simply 'to take up' your things and be off.

l. 49. *τρόπον* (acc. of *apposition* to sentence, like *δίκην*, *χάρων*), 'like.'

l. 50. *οὔτε*, Epic form of rel. *ἐκπατίους* (*πάτος*, 'path'), 'out of the path,' may mean either 'strange,' 'unbounded,' 'terrible,' or 'lonely;' the latter very well suits the eagles wheeling over their craggy nests; and is the meaning given by the Scholiast. *παίδων*, 'for their young.' Gen. of relation, common after words of feeling, as anger, grief, surprise, etc. [Blomfield's *ἐκπάγλοις* is very probable.]

l. 51. *ὑπατοὶ λεχέων*, 'high o'er their nest.' *ὑπατος* governing gen. much as *ὑπέρ* does, by a slight extension of usage.

l. 52. 'The oarage of their wing,' a fine phrase for the flight of large birds. Lucretius, 6. 743, imitates (*remigi oblitae pennarum*) and Vergil has followed (*remigio alarum*, Aen. 1. 301, 6. 19).

l. 53. *δεμνιοτήρη πόνον ὀρταλίων ὀλέσαντες*, 'having lost the guardian-task of their brood,' i.e. 'the task of keeping the nest:' the adj. describes in what the task consists. The word occurs again 1449, in the sense of 'keeping the bed,' i.e. 'confining to bed' of sickness.

l. 55. 'Above there is one that hears, either Apollo,' etc. Observe idiomatic use of *πε*, where we should say 'perchance.' So Verg. Aen. 1. 182 '*Anthea si quem iactatum vento videat*.' *Apollo* protects the birds as god of augury: *Pan* as god of the forest and wild animals: *Zeus* as god of justice. (Schn.)

l. 56. Notice the loaded adjectives, in Aeschylus' weighty manner, 'the shrill lament of winged mourners who dwell in his skies:' *μεροῦκων* being a finely imaginative word: the birds are the *sojourners* in the god's home.

l. 59. *παραβᾶσιν*, 'to the transgressors,' the older Epic use of the partic. without *τοῖς*. So *μαθοῦσι* 38.

l. 61. *ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ*, 'against Paris;' *ἐπὶ* with dat. lit. 'on' (as we say, 'he marched on Rome'). It is an Epic use, see illustrations on 357; in Attic and prose it would be acc. *ξένος*, because the crime of the rape of Helen was an offence against the sacred laws of hospitality, which were under the protection of Zeus Xenios.

l. 62. *πολύανόρος*, 'wooed by many a suitor.'

## AGAMEMNON.

1. 64. Gen. abs. 'when the knee is bowed in the dust.' ἐραδομένου, lit. 'resting.'

1. 65. προτέλεια, 'the prelude,' usually the sacrifice before marriage (τέλος, 'rite'); here the 'prelude of the battle,' but suggesting the other sense, that the fighting was a bitter *marriage-prelude* for Paris.

1. 67. ἔστι δὴ νῦν ἔστι, 'the issue is—as it is now,' an intentionally enigmatic sentence. In the mouth of the chorus it naturally means 'there is good news; the Trojans are vanquished' (though they do not as yet know the details). But to the spectators it has a second and deeper meaning, as Agamemnon is returning to find unfaithfulness, conspiracy, and murder, and so in a terrible sense τελείται ἐς τὸ πεπρωμένον, 'it draws to its fated end.'

The Greek dramas are full of such double meanings, bearing only a single sense to the speaker; and the contrast between the two senses, or between the position of the speaker as he conceived it, and as it was known to the audience, often formed most effective situations, of Dramatic Irony, as it has been called.

11. 69-71. ὑποκαίων of the MSS. gives a tiresome repetition with δακρύων, so I have taken Casaubon's ὑποκαίων (adopted by Eng., Schn.), making a very natural antithesis of *offering* and *libation*. The sense will then be, 'Neither by secret offering, nor by secret libation, nor by tears shall one soothe their stubborn wrath (i.e. the gods' wrath) for the unburnt sacrifices.' Again a double meaning. (1) In the chorus' mouth it means, 'The Trojans cannot soothe their angry gods by any expiation;' but (2) to the spectators it has a second deeper sense, 'Agamemnon cannot by any offering assuage the anger of the gods for his sacrifice of Iphigeneia.' It is hard however to be sure what is the meaning of ἀπύρων ἱερῶν in (1), on the surface sense, it may mean 'rejected sacrifice' (offering which will not burn); or as Schn., Pal., 'unholy rite' (rite without fire, i.e. the marriage of Helen and Paris); or thirdly, as Enger, 'Shall soothe the stubborn wrath of the unlit sacrifice,' the wrath of the god being transferred to the sacrifice which will not burn.

1. 72. ἀτίται, 'unhonoured' is the best sense (though the termination is rare in passive sense, cp. ἀφέρης, κηροδέτης). [Others say 'not-paying,' i.e. either 'not serving' or 'not avenging;' but both are less smooth and natural.]

1. 73. ἀρωγῆς, common gen. after λείπεσθαι, ἡσᾶσθαι, etc., like gen. after comparative, 'left out of the army that gave aid.'

1. 77. ἀνέσσω, 'leaping' (H., Dind., Schn., Eng.), better far than ἀνάσσω, 'ruling' (MSS. and Pal.). The gen. sense is, 'the strength of the old is like children's' (ἰσχνὸν ἰσόπαιδα); for the very young vigour is as unfit for war as the very old feebleness. In 76-82 he simply develops the idea 'the old are no better than children.'

NOTES. LINES 64-94.

1. 78. *ισόπρεσβυς*, 'is like unto age,' i.e. the vigour of boyhood is yet no fitter for war than decrepit age. *Ἄρης .. χώρα*, 'and Ares is not in his place,' i.e. is not *there* in his place, his place being the full-grown man. *κατὰ χώραν* is the prose phrase for *ἐνὶ χώρῃ*.

1. 79. *τὸ θ' ὑπέργῃρων*, 'and the last old age,' the neuter expressing the *class*, like *τὸ νέον*, *τὸ καλόν*; by a loose but natural construction it becomes masc. at 81, *στείχει*, a vivid personal verb, having prepared the way.

The MSS. are corrupt, only Fa. reads as above. We might read *τὶ θ' ὑπέργῃρων*, 'what of the very old?' with Eng., but prefer to follow Fa., the question being not very idiomatic or natural.

1. 80. *τρίποδας*, 'the three foot ways' are of course the old men walking with a stick.

1. 82. 'He strays, a mid-day dream,' a feeble shadowy life. The day-dream being even more unreal than the night-dream.

[While this song has been singing, the queen Klytaemnestra comes out and begins to make arrangements for the sacrificing, lighting up the altars and ordering about her train of maidens. The chorus address her directly.]

1. 83. *Τυνδάρεω*, irregular gen. from *Τυνδαρεύς*, as though Ionic gen. of *Τυνδάρης*.

1. 87. *πυθοῖ*, 'from hearing'; most MSS. have *πειθοῖ*, 'from belief,' a commoner but less appropriate word. Fl. has *πυθοῖ*, which suggests the real reading. *περίπεπτα θυσσκεῖς*, 'art sacrificing by word sent round?' i.e. 'art sending round the word to sacrifice?' *περίπεπτα* being adverbial (strictly, in agreement with cogn. acc.). *θυσσκεῖς*, MSS. *θυοσκιεῖς*, probably corrupted to complete the full line. The right word, *θυσσκεῖς*, is restored from Hesych. (*θυος, κα- καίω*, 'to burn offering.')

1. 88. 'And of all the gods that guard our city, above, below, in the heavens, in the mart,' *ἄστυνόμοι*, the same as the commoner words *πολιοῦχοι* and *πολισσούχοι*. *ὑπατοὶ* were gods like Zeus, Apollo, Hera, etc. *χθόνιοι* were Ge, Pluto, Hermes, Eumenides, etc.

The other antithesis, 'in the heavens, in the mart,' is less obvious, but by *ἀγοραῖοι* he probably means those who do specially preside over the city-life; by *οὐράνιοι* those who do not. *Ἀγοραῖος* is applied to Zeus (Eum. 979), to *Hermes* (Ar. Eq. 297), to *Artemis* and *Athena* (Paus. 3. 11. 9). (In Theb. 257 *τοῖς πολισσούχοις θεοῖς Πεδιονόμοις τε κἀγορᾶς ἐπισκόποις*, a different division is apparently meant, 'all our native gods, of the country and the town.')

1. 93. *ἀνίσχει*, 'arises,' intrans., as often from Homer onwards, esp. of the sun. See Lexicon.

1. 94. 'The pure unguent's soft and guileless spell' is a thoroughly

## AGAMEMNON.

Aeschylean phrase, loaded and imaginative. It is called 'guileless' probably simply because *παρηγορία*, 'persuasion,' was so often guileful: the persuasion of oil to fire is genuine.

1. 96. *πέλανος*, 'a clot or lump' of solid or thick liquid, so here of oil. *μυχόθεν*, 'from the inner store,' adv. used (with the looseness of the primitive style of Aeschylus) to qualify the subs. *πείλανε*.

The MSS. reading *βασιλείω* quite good. It is needless to alter it to *-ων*.

1. 97. *λέξασα . . παιών τε γενοῦ*, the *τε* is not wanted, but it is a very natural anacoluthon. (Eng., Hart., Karst., etc., read *λέξας*, which sets the grammar right, but is needless.)

1. 98. *αἰνεῖν*, in old sense, 'to tell of.'

1. 100. 'Which now is bitter, and now again hope from the altar fires bright shining drives back the relentless care of the grief that gnaws the heart.' The change in the constr. is very natural, and more effective than if he had finished the sentence strictly, 'and now again is lighter,' or something of that sort.

1. 101. I keep *ἀγανὰ φαίνουσ'*, on the whole nearest to the MSS., *φαίνουσα* meaning 'shining,' common intransitive use.

1. 103. The reading is Hermann's; the only practical question is whether we should read *τῆς θυμοβόρου φρένα λύπης* or *τὴν θυμόβορον φρένα λύπην*. The latter is in apposition to *φροντὶδ'*, the former is governed by it. I follow H., Schn., Eng., in preferring the genitive; the mass of accusatives is so very clumsy. In either case *φρένα* is governed by the adj., a rare construction. Cp. 1090 *πολλὰ συνίστορα*, Pr. 904 *ἄπορα πόριμος*, Soph. Antig. 786 *σὲ φύξιμος*, where however the adjectives are more like simple verbals, and so the construction is easier.

[*Klytaemnestra has finished her preparations and has retired.*]

11. 104-257. The general outline of the chorus' songs from here to the end 257 is as follows:

*Strophe* 1. (104-121.) I can tell the tale of victory, and the signs that went before—I yet am young enough for song—the omen of the two eagles, devouring a pregnant hare. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Antistrophe* 1. (122-139.) Kalchas the wise seer knew the sign, and prophesied: 'One day this host shall capture Troy. Only I pray no wrath of gods may strike it, for Artemis is angered against the eagles and pities the hare.' (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Epode* (140-159). 'I pray Artemis therefore, though she loves the wild beasts, to suffer the triumph of the eagle princes. And Paeon Apollo I invoke, to stay her from raising adverse gales, while she urges on a lawless sacrifice, the slaughter of a child, fraught with evils to

the house.' So Kalchas spake. (Woe, woe, but let the good prevail.)

*Str. β'*. (160-166). Zeus—whate'er his rightful name—is the greatest of all.

*Ant. β'*. (167-175). Ouranos and Kronos are passed away—Zeus is the victor.

*Str. γ'*. (176-183). Zeus has appointed a law, that man shall learn by suffering, reluctant though he be.

*Ant. γ'*. (184-191). So then Agamemnon—uncomplaining, when the host was wind-bound and suffering at Aulis [*Str. δ'*, 192-204], and the delay was destroying the ships and men—but when Kalchas advised a bitter cure, the slaughter of Iphigeneia, to appease Artemis [*Ant. δ'*. 205-216], then Agamemnon spake: 'Tis evil to disobey, and evil to obey, how can I slay my child? how forsake my comrades?' [*Str. ε'*. 217-226]. So he bowed to necessity, and undertook the impious deed, misled by Madness the source of woe, and he slew his child. [*Ant. ε'*. 228-237]. Her youth and prayers they set at nought, and like a kid they raised her to the altar, in her flowing robes, and stifled her cries. [*Str. ε'*. 238-246]. She bared her breast, like a picture, striking all with pity; for often she had sung to them in her father's halls. [*Ant. ε'*. 247-257]. The rest I cannot tell; it was accomplished. For the future—let it come; what skills foreboding? Our friendly wish is that all may be well.

*While the chorus sings, the day is supposed to break; and when Klytaemnestra returns (255) it is broad day.]*

l. 104. κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν, 'I am he that shall sing,' 'I am the man to tell.' κύριος is 'the one who has the power,' 'the right one.' κυρία the right or appointed day. κράτος αἰσιον, 'the fated victory,' slightly strained but natural sense of κράτος. αἰσιος is properly used of omens, 'auspicious,' and is here transferred from the omens (ὄδιον) to the victory. ὄδιον, 'foretold by signs upon the way;' there were various kinds of omens—entrails, the flight of birds, chance cries, and signs on the way, ἐνοδίου τε συμβόλους Pr. 487. So in Ar. Ran. 197 the slave, being unlucky, says, τῷ συνέτυχον ἐξιών; 'what can have met me when I came out?'

l. 105. ἐκτελέων. Pal. takes this as a partic.—'accomplishing,' i.e. 'singing the accomplishment.' It is less harsh to take it as gen. of adj. ἐκτελής, 'complete,' 'consummate,' used in strained sense for 'royal,' 'high.' H., Schn., Eng., read ἐντελέων; needless, because it is equally used off its meaning, and MSS. all give ἐκτ. ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν .. αἰών, a well-known difficulty, about which numerous conjectures have been made. Only four views are near enough to the MSS. to be worth mentioning; the full reading of the MSS. is: ἔτι γὰρ θεόθεν καταπνέει πειθῶ μολπὰν ἀλκὰν ξύμφυτος αἰών. (1) Goodwin

(Amer. Phil. Ass. Trans. 1877) defends the MSS., and puts a comma at *μολπᾶν*: 'For still Persuasion from the gods breathes song upon me, still my old age (breathes) strength to sing.' It is very ingenious, but the antithesis (which the absence of 'and' emphasises) is harsh, 'age' and 'persuasion' being so unconnected, and the *point* surely is simply 'I am not too old to sing.' (2) Enger reads *μολπᾶν*, and makes *μολπᾶν ἄλκᾶν* an apposition to *πειθῶ*: 'Still my age breathes from the gods upon me Persuasion, the strength of song.' (Old though I am, I am still inspired.) (3) H., Pal., Schn., etc., read *μολπᾶν* and *ἄλκῃ*, though interpreting differently: 'Still age growing with strength (i.e. "not yet decrepit") breathes on me persuasion of song' (Pal.), or 'Still Persuasion of song breathes (intr.) upon me, namely the time commensurate with the war,' H., Schn., Kl. Paley's is good sense, though *ἄλκῃ σύμφυτος* is harsh. Hermann's is very harsh and obscure and indeed impossible. (4) Prof. Campbell neatly suggests *πειθοῖ μολπᾶν ἄλκᾶν*, which he translates, 'by persuasion of song my life breathes valour.' Better take it, 'by persuasion from heaven my age yet breathes the strength of song,' the only *ἄλκῃ* I have is that of song. On the whole I prefer (2): and next best (4) or (3) with Paley's interpretation.

l. 109. *ὅπως*, 'how,' takes up the first clause, *κύριός εἰμι θροεῖν*, after the parenthesis. 'The twin sovereign power, ruling with one heart,' is a characteristic Aeschylean abstract phrase for the Atridae.

l. 110. *ξύμφρονα τάγαν*, 'ruler of one heart,' the singular is strange, but due probably to *κράτος*. See 41, 112. [It must be *τάγαν*, acc. of *τάγης*, 'a leader,' not *ταγάν*, acc. of *τάγῃ*, 'rule.'] Keck suggests *ἤβαν ξύμφρονα ταγοῖν*, 'friendly might of the princes.' Ingenious.

l. 111. *πράκτορι*, 'avenging,' from *πράσσειν* in a special sense, 'to exact.' Eum. 624, *τὸν πατρὸς φόνον πράξαντα*. The MSS. here have *σὺν δόρι δίκας πρᾶκτορι*, a plain gloss; fortunately the line is rightly quoted in Ar. Ran. 1288.

l. 112. 'The fierce bird' (*θούριος*, from *θυ-*, first 'smoke,' then 'violent movement or impulse') is said to 'send the kings to Troy,' because the sight of the eagles tearing the hare was the omen that encouraged them. *θούριος ὄρνις* becomes plural in the next line, but easily, by help of the adjectives.

l. 115. *ὁ κελαϊνὸς . . ἄργᾶς*, 'one black, one white of tail:' the black one is no doubt Agamemnon, the white-tail Menelaos (*ἄργᾶς*, alluding to *Ἄργος*, as often). Aristotle (Hist. Anim. 9. 32) aptly says, 'the largest eagle is the *White-tail* . . the strongest is that called the *Black Eagle* or *Hare-slayer*.' Perhaps Menelaos is intentionally hinted at as the less courageous.

l. 116. *χερὸς ἐκ δοριπάλτου*, i.e. 'on the right,' the lucky side for omens: the Greek augurs looking North, and the luck coming from the



East. Hence *δεξιός* gets a secondary meaning, 'favourable.' Notice *ἐκ* where we say 'on;' to the spectator the vision *comes from* right (subjective), but it *is on* the right (objective).

l. 119. *φέρματα* is Hartung's excellent emendation for *φέρματι*, the MSS. reading still retained by many. Those who retain it have to explain how *γένναν* can mean the *mother*, and how it can agree with *βλαβέντα*; a feat which they attempt. With *φέρματα* it is both easier and far more effective, 'rending the hare's young, an unborn brood, checked from their after-roamings;' *λαγίναν γένναν* will then be not the mother, but the unborn young within her. *βλαβέντα*, etc., neither *hare* nor *young* can roam any more, the eagles devour them.

l. 121. 'Echo the cry of wail; but let the good prevail.' In the refrain, fear and hope are mixed; the reason for the foreboding is not yet told; it occurs below.

l. 122. 'The good seer of the host' is of course Kalchas. *δύο λήμασι δισσοῦς* of the MSS. is meaningless; to say 'two differing in spirit,' as Paley takes it, is irrelevant; he is comparing 'the royal pair' to the two eagles; he calls them above *ξύμφορα τάγαν*, 'princes one in heart;' and their *union* is the point wanted, not their *difference*. We had better therefore read *λήμασιν ἴσους* (τ according to the Epic scan-sion) with Dind., Eng.

l. 123. *ἔδᾶν . . ἀρχάς*, 'knew the hare-devourers and the leaders of the host,' i. e. 'knew that the hare-devourers *were* the leaders;' *ἀρχάς*, abst. for concr., like *διθρονον κράτος*. Others take *πομποῦς ἀρχάς*, 'the powers conducting,' i. e. the *birds*, whose omen led them; a much more far-fetched meaning.

l. 126. *ἀγρεῖ*, the prophetic present, as though the seer saw it happening. *κέλευθος*, lit. 'path,' i. e. 'expedition,' 'armament.' 'One day shall this host capture the city of Priam.'

l. 127. 'And all the gathered wealth of the people before the battlements Fate shall ravage with violent hand.' So the MSS. *πρόσθε*, which can be best taken with *πύργων*, and makes good sense. Others needlessly read *πρὸς δὲ τὰ . .*, i. e. 'the wealth of the towers, and likewise the people's stores.'

l. 130. *πρὸς τὸ βίαιον*, like the commoner *πρὸς βίαν*, *πρὸς ὀργήν*, lit. 'towards' violence, wrath, etc., i. e. 'violently.' So Prom. 214, *πρὸς τὸ καρτερόν*.

l. 131. *οἶον*, 'only.' *ἄγα*, 'envy'—Hermann's certain correction for the MSS. *ἄτα*, which will not scan and makes a worse meaning. *προτυπὲν στόμιον μέγα Τροίας στρατωθέν . .* 'lower on the mighty curb of Troy (i. e. the Greek army), the embattled host, stricken before its time (i. e. before it reaches the foe).' The seer darkly foretells here the wrath of Artemis, which was to delay the host at Aulis.

l. 135. οἶκφ, to say 'the pure maiden is wroth *against the house*, meaning the family of Agamemnon, is no doubt sense; but the correction οἶκτω makes infinitely better sense; 'for from pity Artemis the pure maiden is wroth with the winged hounds (eagles) of her sire.' In this way we are saved the harsh apposition οἶκφ .. κυσί. Other corrections, οἶκοι, οἶω, need not be considered. οἶκτω is due to Scaliger.

l. 136. πτανοῖσι κυσί, 'the winged hounds,' i.e. the eagles. Cf. Prom. 1022, Διὸς δέ τοι πτηνὸς κυῶν δαφονίδος αλετός. The bearing of this is a little obscure, but it is of this kind: The sign of the eagles is an encouraging sign to the Greeks, boding victory; but as Artemis is offended by the eagles devouring the hare, so she is wroth with the Greeks; and her anger may do harm.

l. 137. αὐτότοκον, adj. used rather strangely = αὐτοῖς τοῖς τόκοις, 'young and all.' So αὐτόχθονος 536, αὐτόπρεμος Eum. 401, αὐτόκωπος Cho. 163. πρὸ λόχου, 'before the birth.'

ll. 140-145. With the ordinary readings ἀ καλὰ (140) and αἰτεῖ (144). This passage is taken to mean, in general sense, 'Though so gentle to all the young of beasts, the goddess asks for the accomplishment of these omens, good and evil alike.' The difficulty is, why should Artemis *ask* for the accomplishment of the cruelty which she hates (στυγεῖ δὲ δειπνον)? Schütz suggests τούτων, αἰτῶ, εὐμβολα κρᾶναι, optative, 'may she accomplish.' It is much better to read, with all the MSS. but one, καλὰ (vocative), for ἀ καλὰ, and read αἶνει (imper.) for αἰτεῖ. It then will run 'Though so kindly to the tender young of mighty lions, O fair maiden, and loving the suckling brood of all the wild wood beasts, yet *consent* to the accomplishment of the signs of these things, visions of good and ill.' This makes 140-145 addressed to Artemis, as 146-155 is to Apollo.

l. 141. I take the generally adopted λεπτοῖς for the meaningless MS. δέπτοις: in the original uncials Α and Λ were very near.

l. 145. στρουθῶν is clearly corrupt, as it lengthens α of φάσματα, and as there is nothing about 'sparrows' here at all. It has got in by some one confusing this story with the story of the sign of the sparrows in Il. 2. 311.

l. 146. Παιᾶνα, 'the healer,' well-known name of Apollo. Ἰήϊος, also name of Apollo; said to be from ἰή, and to mean 'invoked with the cry,' like εἰός for Dionysos.

l. 148. χρονίας ἐχενῆδας ἀπλοίας, 'adverse gales, long delaying the fleet.' (ἐχενῆς from ἔχω-ναῦς, 'ship-detaining.')

l. 150. τεύξῃ, i.e. Artemis. Apollo is asked to prevail with his sister not to delay the host by adverse winds.

l. 151. θυσίαν, the 'other sacrifice, lawless, unfeasting,' is the sacrifice of his daughter Iphigeneia, which Agamemnon made to appease

Artemis, as told below. The *daïs* being the feast on the meat of the sacrifice, this offering was clearly *ἄδαιρος*.

l. 152. 'A seed of strife clinging to the race (*σύμφυτον*) fruitful of rebellion against the lord' (lit. 'not fearing the lord' of the house), the last words being a dark hint of the murder that awaits Agamemnon from the faithless Klytaemnestra.

ll. 154, 155. A characteristic instance of Aeschylus' accumulation of phrase. Here are six adjectives and one substantive. 'For wrath abides, rising again, haunting the house with guile, unforgetting, avenging the children.'

l. 157. *μόρσιμα*, a euphemism for 'evils.' 'Such fated ills, yet with great blessings, sang Kalchas from omens on the way,' etc.

l. 161. 'Zeus, whoe'er he be, if by this name it please him to be called;' *τῷδε*, i. e. Zeus alone, without other more definite title.

l. 164. *οὐκ ἔχω προσεικάσαι*, either 'I cannot conjecture,' i. e. 'refer it all to any but Zeus,' or better and simpler, 'I cannot compare any but Zeus (to Zeus),' i. e. 'Zeus is incomparably above all.'

l. 165. *εἰ τὸ μάταν . . ἐτητύμως*, 'if in good truth I must cast from me the vain load of care.' *τὸ μάταν ἀχθος* describes 'the *vague* foreboding,' 'ill-defined, shadowy care.' The sense is therefore: if I am to get rid of my vague and gloomy forebodings, I must rest on Zeus as the greatest of all. Others K., Schn., etc., take *μάταν* as *proleptic*; 'cast away my care so as to be vain,' which is not so good.

l. 170. *οὐδὲ λέξεταί πρὶν ὧν*, lit. 'will not even be spoken of as having been of old,' i. e. 'his day is past, we shall not even tell of him.' The MSS. read *οὐδὲν λέγει πρὶν ὧν* or *οὐδὲν τι λέγει* (Fa.), which will neither scan nor construe. The above correction is the slightest and the best; it is due to Ahrens, and is adopted by Eng., Schn., and later D. The allusion is to Ouranos, the father of Kronos, whom Kronos conquered and dethroned; exactly the same fate awaited Kronos himself from the hand of his own son Zeus.

l. 171. *ὅς δ' ἔπειτ' ἔφν*, Kronos. *τριάκτῆρος*, lit. 'one who throws thrice (*τρία*, *τρῆς*) in a wrestle,' the three throws being necessary for victory. So *τῶν τριῶν παλαισμάτων* Eum. 589, *διὰ τριῶν ἀπόλλυμαι* Eur. Or. 434.

l. 174. 'Shouts the triumph-song of Zeus.' *ἐπινίκια*, cogn. acc.

l. 175. See Appendix II.

l. 177. *τὸν πάθει μάθος . . ἔχειν*, 'who has appointed *wisdom by suffering* as a sure law,' i. e. 'that wisdom shall be learnt by suffering.' MSS. read *τῷ πάθει* by a natural error.

l. 179. *σπάλλει*, 'trickles,' intr., the most natural meaning. (Not as Pal. 'drops wisdom,' understanding *τὸ σωφρονεῖν* in the acc. *ἐν θ' ὕπνῳ*: the *θ'* is odd. Schömann's *ἀνθ' ὕπνου* is ingenious and probable.)

l. 180. καὶ παρ' ἄκοντας, 'and wisdom comes to men in their despise,' i. e. by suffering, by ways they would not choose.

l. 182. The MSS. read δαϊμόνων δέ που χάρις, βιαίως σέλαμα σεμένον ἡμένων, usually construed, 'and surely 'tis a favour of the gods, seated in might upon their solemn thrones.' \* Only βιαίως cannot mean 'mightily,' it must mean 'with force or violence.' The best alteration is perhaps Turnebus' βίαιος, with comma after it: 'and the gods' favour is oft forced on men, the gods who sit on their glorious thrones.' In fact, another expression of the same truth as παρ' ἄκοντας ἦλθε σωφρονεῖν. But perhaps it is altogether corrupt.

l. 186. The poet returns to the narrative. The connection of this intervening religious ode with the story seems to be this: The seer warned Agamemnon of the mixed good and evil that was in store for him, and especially foreboded the evil results of the child's slaughter (154-5); but Agamemnon, in spite of all, did the deed, and incurred the curse. *Zeus is above all, and has ordained that man shall only be taught by suffering.* καὶ τόθ', application of the general reflections to the special case; 'so then.'

l. 187. ἐμπαίσις, literally, 'striking upon,' i. e. 'his stormy lot,' prob. the same met. as συμπνέων, 'not breathing against,' i. e. 'yielding to.' So again, 219.

l. 189. βαρύνοντ', imperf. augment omitted, as often in the choruses.

l. 190. Χαλκίδος πέραν ἔχων, 'camped on the shore that faced toward Chalkis,' i. e. at Aulis, opp. to Chalkis in Euboea. πέραν usu. taken as adv. and ἔχων intr., but it is prob. the acc. of the old word πέρα (which of course the adv. is originally), and means 'holding the other side.' We have the gen. (read by M. and Schol.) πέρας in Supp. 262 ἐκ πέρας Ναυπακτίας.

l. 191. παλιρρόχοις, 'eddyding,' 'surging back.' MSS. read παλιρροῖσις, with same meaning; altered to suit metre, βίαιος σελ-, 183.

l. 192. Στρυμόνος. The Strymon was the great river of Thrace, which flowed out past Amphipolis. The N.E. wind would bar their passage out of the strait at Aulis. Notice the piling up of adjectives here again, as in l. 154.

l. 195. βροτῶν ἄλαι, in a kind of strange apposition, lit. 'wanderings of mortals,' i. e. 'drifting men away.' βροτῶν opp. to νεῶν τε καὶ πεισμάτων.

l. 196. παλιμμήκης, as we say, 'as long again,' 'lengthening out the time twice-told.'

l. 197. τρίβω, 'with wasting,' rarer for τριβή.

l. 199. 'Another cure of the bitter tempest,' their ordinary sacrifices having been vain for long.

l. 201. προφέρων Ἄρτεμιν, 'pleading (the wrath of) Artemis.'

NOTES. LINES 180-227.

l. 202. *χθόνα ἐπικρούσαντας*, in rage, of course. So Achilles in Homer, *ποτὶ δὲ σκῆπτρον βάλε γαίῃ* Il. i. 245.

l. 206. *κήρ*, 'fate,' old Epic word.

l. 210. This line in the MSS. does not correspond with the strophe (197): and both show rather a strange metre at the end: accordingly I adopt Hermann's *Ἄργους* and Schömann's *πρὸ βωμοῦ* for *βωμοῦ πέλας*.

l. 211. *τί τῶνδ' ἀνευ κακῶν*; i. e. 'whichever I choose is woe.'

l. 212. 'How can I (bear to) desert my fleet, and lose my comrades?' i. e. to have the whole expedition broken up, by not taking the only means. First the fleet scatters (*ξυμ. ἀμ.*), then the disgrace of the failure falls on Agamemnon.

l. 216. MSS. read *ὄργᾳ περιόργως ἐπιθυμῆν*, 'to long, desiring with desire,' an almost Eastern fulness and repetition. The subject of *ἐπιθυμῆν* is 'the comrades,' or *ξύμμαχοι*. This might do, but Schömann's correction, *περιόργω σφ'*, improves sense and structure.

ll. 217 sqq. 'But when he had shouldered the yoke of necessity, breathing an impious veering gale of spirit, unblest, unholy—then his heart turned to thoughts of uttermost daring.' Lit. 'he changed his purpose (*μετέγνω*) so as to devise' (*φρονεῖν*, *epexeg. inf.*). *τροπαίαν*, 'veering gale,' because he gave up the struggle and went straight for the wicked deed.

l. 220. Some put comma at *μετέγνω*, take *τόθεν* relative (as it is in Epic, and may easily be in Aesch.), and *ἔτλα δ' οὖν* as the principal verb. So Pal. quoting Schol. as authority: the Schol. however is so wrong about the rest of the line, that it may be wrong about *τόθεν*; and the pointing in the text is in any case clearer and better.

l. 222. Notice the piled adjectives again, 'fell distraction, base-devising, the fountain of woe.'

l. 224. *δ' οὖν*, see 34. 'Well—he had the heart to be the slayer,' as though he said, 'However it may be (with the general remarks about *παρακοπῇ*) anyhow the fact was so.'

l. 225. *ἀρωγάν* and *προτέλεια* are acc. in apposition to the *action* or the *sentence*, as often in Greek, 'to aid the war . . for the fleet an expiation.' *προτέλεια*, 'the preliminary sacrifice' (see l. 65) before the fleet could go. Observe the significant antithesis, *θυγατρὸς . . γυναικοποίων*, 'he slew a daughter . . to help in vengeance for a wife.' The daughter is a blood-relation, the wife a stranger.

ll. 227-250. The astonishing beauty of this passage has struck all readers from that day to this; it is at once melodious, imaginative, picturesque, and overpoweringly pathetic. It suggests many touches in Lucretius' fine picture of the sacrifice, i. 87-100.

'And her prayers, and her cries of "father," and her maiden prime they set at nought, the bloodthirsty judges . . .'

## AGAMEMNON.

It is disputed whether κληδόνας means 'her appeals to the name,' or 'the name,' whether Ag. disregarded her calling him father, or his own fatherly feelings. The first is better.

l. 229. παρ' οὐδὲν ἔθεντο. Exactly the English 'set 'at nought,' literally used of estimating, reckoning in an account.

l. 230. βραβῆς are properly 'those who preside at a contest,' and so used here picturesquely of Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 231. φράσεν, no augment, 189.

δόξοις, 'the ministers,' 'the attendants.' (δ-όδ-ι-ος, 'on the road with,' 'accompanying,' like δ-κόλουθ-ος; the δ- appears in δ-λοχ-ος, 'bed-fellow,' δ-δελφός, 'born of the same womb,' etc. Curt. 598.)

l. 233. πέπλοισι περιπετή, 'with her robes flowing round her.' πέπλοισι, dat. respect.

l. 234. παντὶ θυμῷ προνωπῇ. It is possible, and tempting at first sight, to take these words together, 'with all her spirit drooping;' but it is more like Greek to refer παντὶ θυμῷ to the δόξοι; the order of the words then marks the sharp antithesis, 'he bade the ministers unfaltering raise the drooping maid.' (So ἀπαντι θυμῷ Eum. 738.) They were to be eager, she was fainting with fear and grief.

l. 235. The MSS. read φυλακάν. We might retain this and construe φυλακάν κατασχεῖν, 'to hold guard,' i.e. 'to check,' φθόγγον being the object accusative by a loose but not uncommon construction (like Soph. O.C. 584 τὰ δ' ἐν μέσῳ . . λήσθιν ἴσχεις, 'the time between thou forgettest'), governed by the idea φυλάσσεσθαι contained in φυλακάν, 'to keep guard over her fair lips *against* the cry.' But φυλακᾶ is a very slight alteration, and makes the construction quite easy; and moreover they do not want 'to guard against' (φυλακάν κατασχεῖν) the cry, but 'to check' (κατασχεῖν); so I have taken it, following Blomf. and Eng. 'And with the curb to stifle her sweet lips' cry, fraught with curses to her house.'

l. 237. 'With violence and the muffled might of bonds;' a fine phrase for the gag. Notice ἀναύδῳ, epithet transferred from the bound victim to the bonds. The line hangs over into the next stanza, just as in 175; but it spoils the passage not to take it with what precedes.

l. 239. κρόκου βαφάς, 'her robe of saffron,' her dyed princess' robe. So Antigone unties 'the saffron splendour of her robe,' στολίδος κροκόεσσαν τρυφάν Eur. Phoen. 1491. Stanley and Schn. understand it of blood!! Observe the unusual hiatus χέουσα . . ἔβαλλε: perhaps the text is wrong.

l. 241. 'Plain as in a picture, fain to speak.' We are often reminded in the Greek tragedians of the works of painting and sculpture which enriched Athens. So in this play, 416, 801, 1329; and Eum. 50 εἰδὼν ποτ' ἤδη Φινέως γεγραμμένας δειπνον φερούσας, Eur. Hec. 564 στέρνα θ' ὥς

ἀγάλματος κάλλιστα, *ib.* 807 ὡς γραφεὺς ἀποσταθεὶς ἰδοῦ με, Ar. Ran. 537 γεγραμμένην εἰκόν' ἐστάναι. So Eur. Hipp. 1009, Troad. 682. About fifty years after this play was acted a celebrated painter at Sikyon, named Timanthes, painted this very scene, and Agamemnon standing by with his face veiled (Pliny, 35. 10). In the museum at Naples there is a fresco of this subject, taken from 'the house of the Tragic Poet.'

l. 244. ἀγνῆ (Triclin.'s obvious correction for the awkward ἀγνά of MSS.) ἀταύρωτος αὐδῆ, 'with virginal voice the spotless maiden.' Paley well suggests that the emphasis of this beautiful phrase is intentional; the banquet songs of later days were sung by very different people from the pure and lovely princess.

l. 245. Read εὐποτμον παιᾶνα with Hartung (Eng., K., Dav., and Pal.) for MSS. εὐποτμον αἰῶνα, which will not scan and makes bad sense, 'lovingly graced her loving father's chant of happy fortune, sung at the third libation.' The third libation was poured to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ, and then the συμπόσιον or drinking-bout began, the δειπνον being ended. With the end of the libations came the παιάν, or song. So in Plato's Symposium [ξφη] δειπνήσαντας σπονδὰς ποιήσασθαι καὶ ᾄσαντας τὸν θεόν, which last phrase clearly refers to the paean. See 1386.

l. 247. The sacrifice itself could not be more impressively told than by this terrible hint. 'The rest I saw not neither speak; but Kalchas' word (lit. 'arts') is not unfulfilled.' Others (Eng., Schn.) refer τὰ δ' ἔνθεν not to the slaughter, but to *all that is to come of it*. No doubt in 250 the Chorus are thinking of the ill to follow; but that is led up to by the thought 'Kalchas' word is not unfulfilled,' meaning first his advice to slay Iphigeneia, then (suggested by that) his prophecy of the φοβερά μῆνις (154). It is far more poetical and effective to take τὰ δ' ἔνθεν as euphemism for the bloody deed.

ll. 250-254. This passage is well known for its corruptness and difficulty. The true reading is, however, probably preserved in Fa., which reads:—

δίκαι δὲ τοῖς μὲν παθοῦσιν μαθεῖν  
ἐπιτρέπει. τὸ μέλλον  
ἐπεὶ γένοιτ' ἂν κλύοις, προχαιρέτω.

The others (M., Fl., G.) read, ἐπιτρέπει τὸ μέλλον τὸ δὲ προκλύειν ἐπεὶ, κ.τ.λ., which is impossible to equate with the strophe, and nearly impossible to construe. Goodwin (Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1877) has however pointed out the important fact that in M. not only τὸ δὲ προκλύειν but also *the colon after μέλλον* is by a later hand; so that the original reading of M. (much the oldest) confirms Fa. We only require δέ after τὸ μέλλον to make both sense and metre. The meaning will then be: 'To them that suffer, justice brings wisdom. What is to

## AGAMEMNON.

be, thou canst hear when it has come (κλύεις ἄν principal verb, ἐπεὶ γίνουτο optative indefinite, assimilated in mood to κλύεις as grammar requires): ere that, have none of it (πρὸ χαίρετω, lit. 'before hand, farewell to it'); 'tis but too early sorrow.' I.e. 'hear it after the event; have nothing to do with it (hearing it) before the time; hearing before the time means lamenting before the time.' So that the subject to ἴσον (ἔστι) is τὸ πρό-κλύειν, *exactly what some intelligent reader wrote on the side*, and which has crept into the text. Enger is certainly right in reading πρὸ χαίρετω in two words; the meaning is clearer, and it would be more likely to lead to the gloss which has caused all the difficulty. πρὸ is then adverbial, in the Epic fashion.

l. 254. *τορὸν γὰρ ἤξει σύνορθον αὐταῖς* is the reading of M. and Ven. retained by Goodwin, who explains, 'for clear it will come out, in accord with them' (the τέχνη Κάλχαντος). But αὐταῖς is a very weak word, and very far from τέχνη; and the emendation σύνορθον (Wellauer) αὐγαῖς (Herm.), 'clear it will come with the rays of the dawn,' is very near the MSS., and gives a fine sense, and is generally adopted.

l. 255. δ' οὖν, 34.

MSS. give εὐπραξίς, verbal from εὖ πράσσειν: some prefer to write it in two words according to the ordinary rules, but there is doubt whether it will not stand.

τάπ' αὐτοῖσι, 'as to what comes after.'

l. 256. 'This one sole defence of the Apian land, bound by close ties.' These words may mean either 'ourselves,' or 'Klytaemnestra,' who just then enters. The former is perhaps the more natural thing to say; but ἀγχιστον and μονόφρουρον look like the latter, and in that case μονόφρουρον, 'sole-guarding,' is (as Schn. remarks) full of irony to the spectators who know of her faithlessness.

Ἀπίας, old name for Peloponnese; it is derived from AP-, Lat. *aqu-*, 'water,' and means 'the water-girt land.' Cp. Μεσσανία, 'between the waters.'

[ll. 258-354. SCENE I. *Klytaemnestra now comes out of the central door, and the leader of the Chorus turns to the stage and addresses her.* He asks the news, and is told of the capture of Troy, the tidings have come by beacon, the stages of which are then described; Klyt. imagines the scene in Troy, and expresses a hope that it will end well.]

l. 261. 'But whether thou hast heard good news, or naught heard but hast hope of good, that thus thou art busy with sacrifice,' in this sense the εὐαγγέλοιον ἐλπῖσιν only belongs to the second alternative, to the μὴ πεπυσμένη. Mr. Morshead turns it well, 'Now be it sure and certain news of good, or the fair tidings of a flattering hope, that bids thee spread the light.' etc.



NOTES. LINES 254-282.

εἴ τι κεδνόν, an old conjecture for MSS. εἴτε κεδνόν, and a necessary alteration.

l. 263. εὐφρων, 'glad,' i. e. 'gladly.' Others take it, 'being well disposed,' a clumsy sentence.

οὐδέ σιγῶσσι φθόνος. 'Nor shall I grudge thy silence,' i. e. if thou keep silence.

l. 264. 'With happy tidings—so the proverb runs—may the dawn spring forth from her mother night.' The whole couplet is the παροιμία, with its simple and strong imagery; the use of εὐφρόνη, with the slight play on the double meaning, is of course appropriate to the proverb. The 'good-hearted' night would naturally bring forth a 'dawn of good news.'

l. 271. εὖ φρονούντος is predicative. 'Ay, for thine eyes show forth thy heart as loyal.'

l. 272. This line is best read as two questions, with Pal., Ken. If it is read as one question, the answer is not to the point.

l. 274. εὐπειθῆ, 'persuasive.' (No need to alter to εὐπιθῆ with Blomf., H., etc.)

l. 275. οὐ δέξαν ἂν λάβοιμι, 'I would not accept (i. e. 'believe') the fancy.'

l. 276. 'What? has some wingless rumour puffed thee up?' ἄλλ' ἤ, of surprised or excited inquiry usually (Phil. 414; El. 879; Hipp. 932); here the surprise is scornful. 'Art thou so foolish?' πάλιν, prop. 'to fatten,' one of Aeschylus' bold metaphors.

ἄπτερος φάτις is difficult. The only plausible interpretation (Pal., K.), 'rumour sped by no bird,' i. e. spontaneously arising, is a little far-fetched. Perhaps, in view of the common Homeric ἔπεα πτερόεντα, and the strange phrase, τῇ δ' ἄπτερος ἔπλετο μῦθος Od. 17. 57, which probably means, 'and her word was unwinged,' i. e. unspoken (Faesi), we may construe here, 'an unspoken rumour,' i. e. as K., 'a strange presentiment.' [H. and others say 'wingless,' i. e. 'unfledged,' 'immature.' Obscure.]

l. 278. ποίου χρόνου, comprehensive gen., like νυκτός, ὑπάγεσθαι τῆς δδού, θεῶν πεδίοιο, etc., 'within what time?'

καί emphasises the verb, '... has the city been sacked?'

l. 279. νῦν, 'but now.' See note on 104.

εὐφρόνης, the case is kept to answer to χρόνου.

l. 280. καὶ τίς, incredulous, just as in English, 'and what messenger could come so quick?' (So, e.g. Soph. O. C. 73, 606, 1173.)

τάχος, adverbial acc., a kind of quasi-cognate or internal acc.

l. 282. 'Beacon sped beacon on with courier-flame.' ἀγγαρος, a Persian word; the system is fully described by Herodotus, 8. 98, in his inimitable style. 'Now no mortal thing arrives quicker than these messengers; such is the system the Persians have invented. A number of men and horses are posted at intervals, equal to the number of days

required for the despatch, each man and horse being a day's journey from the next. These neither snow nor rain, nor heat nor night, stops from accomplishing their appointed stage at full speed. The first gives the despatch to the second, and the second to the third, and so forth. This they call ἀγγαρήιον.' [The MSS. read ἀγγέλου, but the line is quoted with ἀγγάρου in various old gramm.]

The stations for the beacons are: Ida in the Troad; Mt. Hermaios in Lemnos; Mt. Athos, S. E. promontory of Chalkidike; Mt. Makistos in S. Euboea; Mt. Messapios and Kithairon, in Boeotia; Mt. Aigiplanktos in the Megarid; Mt. Arachnaios in Argolis.

ll. 286-289. This passage is a well-known crux. The words, as they stand, mean: 'And soaring so as to overpass the sea the might of the marching torch all joyfully — the golden gleam like some sun, to the heights of Makistos passing the tidings on;' where the dash (—) stands in the place of πνευή. It is highly probable that πνευή, a gloss upon ισχύς πορευτοῦ λαμπάδος, has ousted the verb from its place; if some word like 'sent' be put into the blank, the sense is complete. Eng. reads πέμπει, which may be right. Kennedy's προῦκειται will hardly do, it is an unnatural word in spite of its ingenuity. All the MSS. agree in reading σκοπᾶς; the acc. may be right if the lost verb was a transitive verb of motion, 'sent the golden gleam to the heights . . .:' but on the whole, especially considering the position of παραγγέλασα, the dative is more likely.

The alternative is to keep πνευή, read ισχύν, and suppose that πρὸς ἡδονήν is a corruption of the verb: either προήνυσεν, Camp. or προσηνυσεν, Elmsl., Hart.

πορευτοῦ, not from πορευτός (which has three terminations), but probably from πορευτής, 'traveller;' agreement, like σωτήρ τύχη, Soph. O. T. 80; Ag. 664. So also θέλκτωρ πειθῶ, Suppl. 1040, κατανιστήρες δίκαι, Eum. 186. πρὸς ἡδονήν might be taken of the joy in those who saw it; but if so, there would have been a dative of the person. It is quite good of the fire. παραγγέλλω has a special fitness; its proper use is military, 'to pass the word down the line.' So 294, 316.

l. 291. παρέκεν ἀγγέλου μέρος, 'neglected not the herald's part,' the negatives going on from οὔτι μέλλαν οὐδ', κ.τ.λ. This is the common way of taking it, and it is quite possible; but I rather incline to prefer Paley's, 'passed on his share of the message.' Not that ἀγγελος means 'message;' it means 'messenger,' and the phrase literally is 'his messenger's share,' quite a possible expression.

l. 292. Euripos, the narrow strait between Euboea and Boeotia.

l. 297. Ἄσωπου, the river of Boeotia, north of Plataeae.

l. 299. 'Awoke a new relay of missive flame.' Ken.

l. 300. οὐκ ἡναίμετο, 'did not disown,' poetic understatement, he means 'welcomed,' 'recognised and attended to.'

l. 301. φρουρά, 'the guard,' who were on the look-out on Kithairon. πλέον καίουσα τῶν εἰρημένων, 'lighting a fiercer fire than those I have told of,' seems a very flat line, though the MSS. are agreed upon it. But one cannot help being strongly tempted (with D., Schn.) to believe that a half line, found in Hesychius (Alexandrine lexicographer and grammarian, 4th century A.D., who has preserved many scraps of the ancient writers), προσαιθρίζουσα πόμπιμον φλόγα, belongs to this place. The line means, 'raising to the skies the missive flame;' a thoroughly Aeschylean expression, exactly suiting the place, and clearly describing a beacon. The words in the text may then have been a dull gloss on προσαιθρίζουσα; though, as they appear in all the MSS., I have not ventured to make a change.

l. 302. λίμνη Γοργώπης, a little inlet in the N.E. corner of the Corinthian gulf.

l. 304. μὴ χαρίζεσθαι is the MSS. reading, which makes no sense. Various conjectures have been made, μηχαρίζεσθαι (a word which does not exist), 'to devise,' (?) Well., K. μὴ χρονίζεσθαι, 'not to linger,' Pal., μὴ χατίζεσθαι, 'not to fail,' lit. 'not to be missed,' Heath, H., D., Eng., Schn. The last seems the best. 'Urged on the fiery ordinance not to fail,' a fine phrase; the personification of the two fires being quite in Aeschylus' imaginative style. Better still μηχανήσασθαι Marg.

l. 305. ἀν-δαίω. Epic syncope of ἀνά, like the Homeric ἀμ φντά, ἀγκαλέω, ἀγέηραινω, ἀλλέαι, etc. So ἐπαντείλασαν 27; cf. 1021, 1599.

l. 306. 'A mighty beard of fire,' a bold and picturesque image for a blaze streaming in the wind.

καὶ Σαρωνικοῦ, etc. 'Even to overpass the headland that looks down on the Saronic gulf.' κάτοπτον (for the meaningless MSS. κάτοπτρον), adj., the κατά governing gen. The 'headland' is evidently Mount Geranea.

ll. 306-8. Probably corrupt, the MSS. reading in 308 εἶτ' ἔσκηψεν εἶτ' ἀφίκετο, which is certainly wrong; and φλέγουσαν after φλογὸς μέγαν πάγονα is at least suspicious. The best way in such a case is to make the least needful alteration, which is done by correcting one or both of the εἶτας: either εἶτα .. ἔστε, (D.); εἶτ' .. εὐτ', (Pal.); or ἔστ' .. εὐτ', (H., Eng., Schn.), which is perhaps on the whole the best, and has been adopted. The sense will then run, 'Then kindling with unstinted might they send a mighty beard of flame, even to surmount the headland overlooking the Saronic bay, blazing onward, till it alighted, when it reached the Arachnaian steep, our city's neighbouring beacon height.' ὑπερβάλλειν will be epexegetic inf. quite natural after πέμπονσι. φλέγουσαν will be κατὰ σύνεσιν (constructed according to sense, not grammar) with φλογὸς πάγονα, fem. because the thought is 'bearded flame,' and flame is fem.

l. 311. οὐκ ἀπαππον Ἰδαίου πυρός, 'true scion of Idaian fire.' Σιν. The gen. is common after these neg. adjectives; it is a gen. of reference,

combined perhaps with the gen. of *emptiness*. So Soph. ἀφρόφητος κωκυμάτων Aj. 321, ἄσκειον ἀσπίδων El. 36, ἡμερῶν ἀνήριθμον Tr. 247, etc.; and Ag. 649 ἀμήνιτον θεῶν.

1. 312. τοιοῖδε τοί μοι, 'such I ween;' μοι, Ethical dative. Others divide not so well, τοιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι, 'such means of communication the queen has at her disposal,' says Pal., not very poetically.

The next passage has some difficulties. 'Such the ordinances of our torch-racers one from another by succession accomplished,' i.e. Klyt. compares the series of beacons to the torch-race or λαμπαδηφορία at Athens. What this was is not quite clear, but apparently there was a *number* or *chain* of runners engaged, each of whom carried the torch a certain distance and then handed it on to the next. The torch had to be brought in alight. The competition was probably between rival chains of runners. The only point of resemblance here is the *quick succession* and the *fire*, and it is curious that Herodotus, in the passage quoted above (282) on ἀγγαρος, compares the Persian courier system (which Aesch. likens to the beacons) to this very λαμπαδηφορία, in respect of the succession of carriers. The next line is variously taken:—(1) 'And first and last alike they win the race,' (Eng., Schn., Klaus., etc.), i.e. just as the victory in the torch-race belongs to all the *chain*, so here the triumph is won by first and last alike. The omission of the article (χῶ τελευταῖος) is not surprising in the looser style of Aeschylus; so 324 we have καὶ τῶν ἀλόντων καὶ κρατησάντων. Perhaps we should rather have expected some word for 'equally,' 'alike.' (2) 'And the first wins, last also in the race' (Peile), i.e. and the victory is with the one who *arrived* first, having been lighted last. The victory, because it brought the news; the resemblance to the torch-race being dropped. (3) 'And he who ran first and last wins,' the same sense as (2) but grammatically different, or (4) 'though he ran last,' Ken. καὶ for καίτερ. It is impossible to decide confidently; but (1) is rather simpler and better than the others.

1. 317. αὐθις, 'later.'

1. 319. ὥς λέγοις πάλιν, the optative is given by two out of the three MSS. here (Fl., Fa.), and is probably right. It is the *assimilated* optative, not uncommon in the dependent clause where the principal verb is opt.; it is due to the feeling of the principal verb *being continued* on into the dependent. 'I would fain hear at length . . . according as thou wouldst tell it again.' So Plat. Men. 92 C πῶς ἂν εἰδείης περὶ τούτου οὐδ' ἀπειρος εἴης; Soph. O. C. 560 δεινὴν . . . ἂν πράξιν τύχῃς λέξας ὁποίας ἐξαφισταίμην ἐγώ; Plat. Phaed. 65 ἐκεῖνος ἂν ποιήσῃε . . . ὅστις τοι.

ὥς λέγεις, 'as thou dost tell it,' the reading of B., is easy enough, but not quite such good sense. He wants more details, not a repetition of the story as told.

NOTES. LINES 312-347.

1. 321. *ἄμικτον*, 'discordant,' not blending; as her simile shortly makes clear.

1. 323. *φίλως* (the MSS. reading) is much better than *φίλω*, a common correction. 'Unfriendly sundered wouldst thou call them.'

1. 324. *καί* answers to *τ'* after *ἕξος*. We should say, 'as . . . so . . .'  
*δίχα*, 'apart,' i. e. 'distinct' from each other.

1. 326. *οἱ μὲν*, 'the captives,' largely women, as we see from *ἀνδρῶν*, etc.

1. 327. *φυταλμίων γερόντων*, 'fostering sires.' There is no need to alter this to *φυτάλμιοι παῖδων γέροντες* with Weil., Eng.; 'the old men' need not have been too old to fight.

1. 330. *ἐκ μάχης*, 'after,' so *τυφλὸς ἐκ δεδορκότος, ἐξ εἰρήνης πολεμεῖν*, etc.

*νυκτίπλαγκτος*, etc., 'night-roaming toil sets them hungry down to such fare as the city has;' the meaning is clear, but the expression is fanciful and picturesque, after his manner.

1. 332. 'According to no token in order due,' a grim kind of irony; the banquet in the sacked town was no well-ordered festival, where each received his *token* and took his appointed seat (*ἐν μέρει*); but just as it chanced (333) he took what he got (331).

1. 333. This line goes better with what precedes, so with Eng., K., Dav., I put a stop after it; and read *ἐν δ'* next line, as Eng.

1. 336. MSS. *ὥς δυσδαίμονες*, unconnected and nonsense. *ὥς δ' εὐδαίμονες* (Stanl., Eng., Schn., K.) is the best alteration. 'And like happy men shall sleep all night without watch to keep' (*ὥς δὲ δαίμονες* is too strong a phrase for merely getting a good night's rest).

1. 340. A good example of *certain* emendation: the MSS. read *ἄν γ' ἐλόντες* or *ἀνελόντες*, and *αὖ θάνοιεν* or *ἄν θάνοιεν*.

1. 341. *μὴ ἐμπίπτῃ*. The subjunctive expresses a misgiving, 'only beware lest,' common in Homer: *ᾧ μοι ἐγὼ, μὴ τίς μοι ὑφαίρησιν δόλον αἶψα* Od. 5. 356, also in Attic *μὴ ἀγροικότερον ᾗ τὸ ἀληθὲς εἰπεῖν* Plat. Gorg. 462 E.

1. 342. This caution 'not to sack holy things' they neglected; cp. 527 *βαρμὸς δ' αἴσσιοι*, etc.

1. 344. *δίαυλος*, 'the double course,' where the runners went round a post and back to the start; a good metaphor for the double voyage.

ll. 345-7. The meaning of these lines is simpler than has been supposed. Taking the MSS. reading *ἀναμπλάκητος*, which Goodwin has shown (Trans. Am. Phil. Ass. 1877) to be read in Fl. as well as the others, we shall construe: 'but if the army returned without such offence to the gods, the woe of the dead might yet wake, if sudden ills did not befall.' The second 'if' is a repetition of the first in other words; the whole drift is, 'let no impious desires assail the army; (that might bring judgment and peril on them, for) they have to return home;

but if they kept free of such offence, (and accordingly) if no such sudden judgment befell, there still might wake the woe of the dead,' which makes good sense, and there is no reason to read *ἐναμπλάκητος*. The last words contain a *double entendre*; to the chorus they mean, 'the army might suffer for *Trojans* slain, if they escaped storm (649) or other judgment;' but the hidden meaning is, '*Agamemnon*, if he escaped shipwreck, might pay the penalty for Iphigeneia,' as he does.

l. 349. τὸ δ' εὖ κρατοίη. She takes up the refrain of the chorus (121, 139), and seems still more sanguine: for instead of αἶλιον, 'the mixed woe and joy,' she wishes 'no doubtful good.' But again there is the grim second meaning, 'let us have complete triumph' over Agamemnon.

l. 350. πολλῶν γὰρ ἐσθλῶν τήνδ' ὄνησιν εἰλόμην, 'for this have I chosen, as the enjoyment of many blessings,' i.e. counting it as equal to the enjoyment of many other blessings: namely, 'that all should return safe;' or, as she really means, 'that I should have my revenge.' τήνδε is attracted to ὄνησιν as usual. The MSS. read τήν, and Hermann corrected it.

l. 354. 'For joy is wrought not unworthy of our toils' is the best meaning: both χάρις and ἀτιμος being used in slightly strained senses: cp. 1443 ἀτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραΰτην, 'they have fared as they deserve.'

[ll. 355-487. STASIMON I.

*Klytaemnestra goes in, and the chorus sing the first stasimon.*

The general sense is:—

'Zeus it is who has cast the inevitable net on Troy; the late but sure vengeance on Paris.' (Introductory anapaests 355-366.)

Str. α'. (367-384). 'Tis the stroke of Zeus; the impious deny the interference of the gods, but it has been shown here in punishing the proud and over-wealthy. Moderate wealth is better; riches cannot protect the unjust.

Ant. α'. (385-401). 'The wicked man is lured to his ruin by Delusion; and then his true black heart appears; the wicked pursues vanity, like a child a bird; his prayers are vain. Such was Paris.

Str. β'. (402-419). 'The Faithless one left her home, leaving War to her kin, bringing Ruin to Troy. The seers sang Woe! Woe! the scorned lord is silent and stricken; in dreams he sees the lost one; his joy is departed.

Ant. β'. (420-435). 'Sorrowful visions haunt him, fleeting and mocking; the people are filled with mourning for those who go forth, but naught returns save ashes in the urn.

Str. γ'. (436-455). 'War the cruel arbiter sends back from Ilion dust for men; the people praise the dead and curse their rulers; the conquerors hold their graves only.

Ant. γ'. (456-474). 'Grievous the wrath of the city; I forbode some

NOTES. LINES 349-368.

evil. The gods forget not, the unjust are laid low, and none can aid.  
'Tis best to be neither cruel conqueror nor wretched captive.

*Epod.* (475-487). 'The beacons glad tidings spread; but who knows whether it is true, or a delusion? Women are too credulous; their joyful news turns out often short-lived joy.']

l. 356. κτεάτεια (Epic form, fem. of κτε-ατήρ, from κτά-ομαι, 'winner.')

l. 357. ἐπὶ πύργοις, Epic use of dat. after verb of motion, cp. βαλλόμενα προτὶ γαίῃ for γαῖαν (Il. 22. 64), νηυσὶν ἐπὶ γλαφυρῇσι νεώμεθα for νῆας Il. 22. 392. See 60.

l. 358. στεγανόν, 'close drawn,' from στέγω, 'to cover,' and is used often of that which *keeps out* (like *hair* which keeps off wet, armour against arrows, shed against rain, etc.) or, as here, *keeps in*.

ὥς for ὥστε. Epic usage common in poets.

l. 359. μήτ' οὖν: οὖν is used in *second* half of alternatives often: εἴτε .. εἴτ' οὖν Soph. Phil. 345, οὔτε .. οὔτ' οὖν O. T. 90, μήτε .. μήτ' οὖν .. *ib.* 271. ὑπερτελέσαι, 'to overleap,' cp. ὑπερτελής, 286.

l. 360. 'The mighty snare of slavery, destruction sweeping all away,' the capture bringing ruin on all. Eng. supposes μέγα δουλείας a gloss, as it wants a vaguer word to include *death* as well as *slavery*, which ἀτη πανάλωτος does. But the poet is here thinking of the *capture* chiefly, the sack, and the slavery, and the misery.

l. 361. αἰδοῦμαι, 'venerate,' more choice and forcible word for 'pray.'

l. 363. ἐπ' Ἀλεξάνδρῳ, 'against Paris;' for dative compare 357.

l. 364. 'That so neither before the time nor beyond the stars the bolt might vainly fall,' i.e. that the vengeance might duly fall, and at the due time, and with due effect. πρὸ καιροῦ is usually taken 'short of the mark,' which makes a good antithesis with ὑπὲρ ἀστρον; but though καιρός might perhaps be used in this sense (see 786), still the point of the sentence is the long delay of justice, till the *time should be ripe*. Moreover, 'at the proper time and proper place,' is just as good an antithesis as 'neither too short nor too far.' See note on 786.

l. 365. ὑπὲρ ἀστρον (perhaps proverbial expression, as Schn.), an obvious hyperbole for 'too far,' 'shot into the sky.'

Observe ὅπως ἂν with final opt. σκήψειεν, a Homeric usage not allowed in Attic final sentences. Od. 8. 21 ὥς κεν Φαιήκεσσι γένοιτο, 24. 334 ὅφρ' ἂν ἐλοιμην δῶρα. In Attic the ἂν would be dispensed with. That the sentence is final is clear both from the sense and from the μή.

l. 367. Lit. 'they have the blow of Zeus to tell of,' i.e. 'tis the stroke of Zeus, they know it.'

l. 368. πάρεστιν not πάρεστι (Enger); then the line is in metre like 367, and in antistrophe 386 we can read προβούλου, which makes better sense.

1. 369. ἔπραξαν (Franz) ὥς ἔκρανεν is best reading. 'They suffered as he willed.' The MSS. give the plainly false ὥς ἔπραξεν ὥς ἔκρανεν.

1. 370. ἀξιοῦσθαι, 'deign' (rarely Med., but quite good Greek). μέλειν, personal and active, 'to care for' = ἐπιμελεῖσθαι. This is rare, but is found: μέλειν ἡμῶν Soph. Aj. 689, τῆς τικτούσης μέλειν El. 342, τῶν ἀδίκων μέλουσι Eur. H. F. 773.

1. 371. ὅσοις, dat. agent, not uncommon after perf. and aor. passive, rarer with pres., 'by whomsoever the glory of their holy things was trampled down.'

1. 372. πατοῖθ', opt. indef. It is past, because of ἔφα.

11. 374-376. The MSS. give πέφανται δ' ἐγγύνους ἀτολήτων Ἄρη πνεόντων μείζον' ἢ δικάϊας, which is not a sentence at all, and has no construction. We can see that the poet said, 'it has been shown,' and then something about 'too proud warriors;' from which the drift can be inferred 'that the proud at last fall.' The ordinary correction ἐγγύνους ἀτολήτως, 'it has been shown (that gods do care) to the offspring of those who breathe out war insufferably' is very unlikely; the subject of πέφανται is wanting, and ἀτολήτως does not really mean 'insufferably,' but 'in a manner not be ventured.' On the whole I much prefer Hartung's ἐκτινύουσα τόλμᾳ τῶν Ἄρη, etc., quite as near the MSS., and much better sense; also the article τῶν is happy. 'We have seen it paying penalty, the wickedness (τόλμα, 'criminal daring') of those who breathed out war more fiercely (μείζον) than was just,' i.e. Paris and the Trojans have suffered vengeance. Observe τόλμα with a long; this is the Doric quantity, and is common in Pindar.

1. 377. φλεόντων, 'overflows,' with riches.

1. 378. ἔστω, 'let there be what brings no woe, yet suffices for him whose heart is wise' (lit. 'so that he who is well gifted in respect of mind should be content'). The meaning is, 'a humble-competence, sufficient, but not entailing trouble, is best.' This is the best sense that can be got out of a difficult and rather doubtful passage.

1. 379. ἀπαρκεῖν is used personally, 'I am content,' instead of the ordinary impersonal ἀρκεῖ, 'it suffices;' just as δικάϊος εἰμι, ἀξίος εἰμι, etc. (τοσοῦτον ἀρκῶ σοι Prom. 621 is something like it). Schütz's conj. λαχόντι would make an easier constr., but is not necessary.

1. 380. παρπίδων, gen. of reference after εἶ; cf. ὥς εἶχε ποδῶν, etc.

1. 381. 'For there is no defence in wealth to a man who insolently spurns the great altar of Justice out of sight.' πρὸς κόρον, like πρὸς βίαν, πρὸς ὀργήν, etc., adverbially. (Others, as Eng., Schn., H., take εἰς ἀφάνειαν with ἐπαλξαι, 'protection against destruction;' but it is too far off; and ἀφάνεια is not a good word; and εἰς is the wrong preposition. Pal. formerly so took it, but now takes it as above.)

1. 385. βιάται, 'forces him on.' The sense is, 'the wicked man is



led on by Temptation (πειθῶ), which is sent him by the Ruin or Curse he has roused, which plots his destruction.'

l. 386. Read with Hartung *προβούλου παῖς ἀφ. ἀτ.*, 'the fatal child of scheming Ruin,' instead of the MSS. *προβουλόπαις*, a very unlikely compound in that sense; it would mean 'with scheming children,' and would in any case be adj. D. quotes *αἰνοπάτηρ* Cho. 315; but that is adj., and so is no parallel. [Others, as Karst., Dav., K., read *πρόβουλος*, which is ingenious and simple, but hardly so effective.]

l. 387. 'The evil is not hidden; but shines, a baleful glare.' The evil being his wickedness. The sentence is a little harsh, and perhaps there is some corruption.

l. 391. 'By rubbing and by blows' of the touchstone to try the metal; he is found 'black smutched' like bad copper (instead of being bright like gold) when tested, *δικαιωθείς*, a bold use of the word.

l. 394. I.e. 'he is as a boy chasing a winged bird.' Paris, in his vain expectation of success in his crime, is like a boy chasing a bird, a proverb for vanity. The omission of 'as' is both Lat. and Greek usage in comparisons.

l. 395. *προστρίμμα*, not 'brand' (L.S.), but 'an infliction,' 'a woe;' we have *προστρίβειν* used with *ζημία* Prom. 329, *πληγὰς* Ar. Eq. 5, *συμφορὰν* Dem. 786. 6.

l. 397. *τῶν*, demonstrative, 'these things;' an Epic usage. This correction of MSS. *τῶνδε* is Klausen's, to suit *ὥστ' ἀπαρκεῖν* in 379, which is better rhythm.

*ἐπίστροφον*, 'conversant with,' a Homeric word: *ἐπίστροφος ἦν ἀνθρώπων* Od. i. 177.

l. 398. *καθαίρει*, sc. *ὁ θεός*, easily understood from *οὔτις θεῶν*. Cf. the well-known passage in Hor. Sat. i. i. 1, 'Qui fit Maecenas ut nemo . . . contentus vivat, laudet diversa sequentes?' i.e. omnes laudent.

l. 405. 'The din of shield and spear and naval armaments.' MSS. read *κλόνους λογχίμους τε καί*, etc.; bad position of *τε*, and not suitable to *πάρεισι δόξαι* of antistr. 421. Read with H. *τε καὶ κλόνους . . ναυβάτας θ'*.

l. 406. *ἀντίφερνον*, 'in place of dowry;' Aesch. is fond of these strange compounds, where the *ἀντί* governs (so to speak) the subst. with which it is compounded, *ἀντήνωρ* 443, *ἀντίπαις* Eum. 38, *ἀντίδουλος* Cho. 135, *ἀντίκεντρον* Eum. 131.

l. 409. 'The seers of the house,' taken by some of Greek seers wailing, by others of the Trojan seers warning. It reads more like the former; but perhaps refers to a story in the *Κύπρια* of the prophecies of Helenos and Cassandra about Paris' marriage.

l. 411. *στίβοι φιλόνορες*, lit. 'husband-loving tracks,' i.e. 'print of her loving form,' 'loving' as she was once; *φιλόνωρ* so used 856.

l. 412. The MSS. reading is hopeless. I have taken Hermann's, who is followed by Eng., Schn., and is the least violent; it also leaves the metre its cretic character; *ἰδεῖν πάρεστι* then go together. 'Behold the silence, scorned yet unrebuking, of those so shamefully deserted;' a very fine picture of Menelaos' misery. The plural *σιγάς* of an abstract word is unusual, but may be supported by *ἀχηνίας* 419, *μανίας* 1575.

l. 416. 'And the loveliness of fair-limbed statues becomes to him a loathing; he has lost the light of her eyes and all love is departed.' Besides the astonishing beauty of the mere words, there is almost a modern depth and tenderness in the thought. Some have strangely referred *ὀμμάτων ἀχηνίας* to the 'blank eyes' of the statues; others take it 'in the loss of his eyes,' i. e. loss sustained by his eyes (subject. gen.); but this does not seem so good.

l. 422. *ὄρα* (Eng., Dav., K.) is probably right; it might easily have got corrupted after *δοκῶν* into inf., especially as the sense is, 'for vainly, when one sees in fancy delights, the vision is gone,' etc. Literally, 'when a man sees fancying he sees delights,' *ὄραν* being easily supplied in thought from *ὄρα*.

l. 426. 'On wings that follow the ways of sleep.' Another wonderful line. Perhaps *ὀπαδοῦς* is right: an easier construction.

l. 428. There is no need for Hermann's *τὰ δ' ἐστὶ*, which would rather require *τὰ πάντων γὰρ* in the next line. 'The woes in the house, in the hearth, are these, and yet more bitter than these; but for all who sailed,' etc. (Lit. 'on the whole, for those who sailed.') *Ἑλλανος*, as adj. with a fem. word, occurs again 1254.

l. 430. *τλησικάρδιος*, 'suffering,' by a bold transference applied, not to the afflicted man, but to the affliction.

l. 435. Notice the beautiful effect in this pathetic line of the implied antithesis to *οἶδεν*; instead of the familiar and loved face comes back the *unknown* urn and ashes.

l. 436. The 'dust in the urn' suggests a bold figure to the poet. 'War is a gold-merchant dealing in bodies; he has his balance (holding the scales of fight, a Homeric idea from Il. 8. 69, where Zeus weighs fates); he sends back *ψήγμα*, 'dust,' *πυρωθέν* and *βαρύ*, *burnt* and *heavy*, like gold-dust, but in another sense; he fills the jar with ashes in place of men.'

l. 441. *βαρύ*, 'grievous,' a pathetic *double entendre*.

l. 444. *εὐθέτους*, for MSS. *εὐθέτου*; it is a more natural phrase, and better applied to *λέβης*. It means 'well-ordered,' and is used by Aesch. of *σάκος*, and *ἀρβύλαι* elsewhere. If we keep *εὐθέτου*, it must mean 'easily stored,' and there is no trace of such a usage. Moreover, the order of the words favours the change.

l. 449. *διαί*, Epic form, restored by Herm. for sake of metre.

βαῖαι, properly, 'barks;' so, 'mutters,' 'grumbles.'

1. 450. ὑπ'.. ἔρπει (Epic tmesis for ὑφ'έρπει), 'steals over' the citizens. Ἀτρεΐδαις is dat. after φθορερόν.

πρόδικος seems to mean properly an 'advocate,' 'champion' will do here.

1. 455. There is a pathetic irony in κατέχουσι, .. ἔχοντας, words naturally used of conquerors who *occupy* land. 'Many stalwart heroes possess graves of Trojan earth; the earth of their foes has covered the possessor.' The Greek custom seems to have allowed burial as well as cremation. Socrates speaks of his body *ἡ καυόμενον ἢ κατορυπτόμενον* (Plat. Phaed. 115 E.).

1. 457. 'Of a public curse it pays the debt,' i.e. 'does the part.' (Eng. translates, 'he pays the debt,' i.e. the hated ruler; good sense, but such a change of subject is scarcely possible.)

1. 460. 'My boding thought awaits tidings from the dark:' imaginative way of saying, 'I anxiously forebode some hidden mischief, soon to be revealed.'

1. 464. παλιντυχεῖ τριβᾶ βίου, 'with sad reversal of life's lot.'

1. 465. ἐν δ' αἰστοῖς .. ἀλκά, 'he lies among the unseen, with none to aid;' αἰστοῖς may include any kind of destruction, even death, cp. Αἰδῆς.

1. 466. ὑπερκόπως, 'overmuch,' necessary correction for MSS. ὑπερκότως, 'wrathfully.'

1. 470. ὄσσοις, 'upon his eyes.' Pal., K. say, 'by the eyes of Zeus;' surely that would be *from* the eyes, ἀπ' ὀσῶν. Possibly it is corrupt.

1. 471. κρίνω, 'I judge best,' used somewhat as δοκεῖ is. ἀφθονον, 'unenvied,' not its usual sense, which is 'plentiful.'

1. 474. βίον, 'the life,' i.e. of a captive, readily understood from δλοῖς; the phrase is varied from its natural form.

Notice the gradual way in which the chorus hint forebodings of ill against Agamemnon. The triumphant opening leads them to speak of Paris' sin and punishment; then the sorrow and loss of Menelaos; that leads to the suffering and slaughter of the Greeks who fought for the Atreidae; then the murmurings, caused by that, against the kings; the danger of too great success, especially if wrought by much bloodshed. 'The conqueror's lot is not one to be wished any more than that of the conquered.'

1. 478. MSS. *ἡ τοι θεῖόν ἐστι μὴ ψύθος*, a possible but very strange position of μή. There are various emendations, of which I have given Ahrens' as the simplest and best.

1. 479. φρενῶν κεκομμένος, 'stricken in mind,' gen. of ref.

1. 481. πυρωθέντα, 'fired.' The construction is acc. and inf. *consecutive*, with the usual ὥστε wanting.

## AGAMEMNON.

l. 483. 'Tis like a woman's temper to welcome joy before the truth be known.' ἀλχμῆ, an obscure word, taken by most edd. (H., Schn., Eng., Well., etc.) to mean 'rule' here and Cho. 630. But there seems reason for believing, with Blomf. and Pal., that the word means 'spirit,' 'temper.' 592 confirms this view. [Hart. suggests αὐχμῆ.]

l. 485. Again an obscure passage, the clue to which lies (as Pal. shows) in the proper meaning of ἐπινέμω, 'to graze flocks over the border.' 'Too credulous, the bounds of her belief suffer a swift encroachment; but by swift fate perishes the rumour spread by her tongue,' i.e. she believes too readily, and her false reports are soon exposed. The assonance of ταχύπορος, ταχύμορος, is of course intentional, to point the rebuke.

l. 488. These lines are given to Klytaemnestra in MSS. They clearly belong to the chorus and are always printed so now.

[ll. 488-680. SCENE II.

*The herald is now seen coming on the left side of the stage crowned with olive. The leader of the chorus speaks from the Thymele. 'Now we shall know all.' The herald prays to all the gods; then describes the sufferings before Troy. Klytaemnestra comes forward, and sends a welcome to her coming lord. The chorus ask news of Menelaos: the herald tells the story of the storm which scattered the fleet. Still Menelaos may come.]*

l. 490. παραλλαγάς, 'changes,' i.e. 'successions.'

l. 494. κάσις πηλοῦ ξύνουρος. Observe the quaint and almost grotesque expression 'thirsty dust, neighbour brother of the clay.' Schn. sees in this speech a parody of Klytaemnestra's picturesque style; but there is no need to invent such refinements. Aeschylus' style, when applied to homely things, is liable to border on the grotesque.

ll. 496-7. Means simply that the tidings will be conveyed by voice, no longer by fire. σοι is rather a strange Ethic dative, as the chorus are not exactly addressing anyone, 'lighting thee the flame of wood;' Herm. suspects it.

l. 498. 'Either he will utter joy,'—or the reverse, he means; but stops short (aposiopesis) to avoid ill omen.

l. 500. 'To good already come may good be added' (lit. 'may addition be well').

l. 501. The want of a connection is so strange that several editors suggest τὰδ' ὅστις. Those who give 488 to Klyt. give this to chorus.

l. 504. φέγγει ἔτους, merely picturesque-poetic for ἔτει, 'tenth-year's light.' Observe that the herald arrives from Troy, announcing the landing of Agamemnon, immediately after the beacon fires, on the morning after the capture. Such violations of possibility were held quite allowable by the licence of dramatic poetry.

# NOTES. LINES 483-532.

l. 507. μέρος is usually omitted after μετέχω, the verb itself (with the partitive gen.) giving the idea sufficiently.

l. 509. The statues of these gods stood probably on the stage, according to the custom, in front of the palace.

l. 510. For Apollo was also the god of Pestilence and had shot his shafts at the Greeks 'for nine days long; and the pyres of the dead burnt thick,' Il. i. 52-3. (μηκέτι of course after imperative χαίρε.)

l. 511. ἦσθ' (Askew, K., D., Eng.) is the simplest and best reading. ΗΞΘ became ΗΑΘ by an easy corruption, which was then altered to ἦλθες by somebody who knew that it ought to be 2nd pers. but did not know the metre. (H.'s ἦσθ' for ἦεισθα is ingenious but unlikely, the phrase is so harsh.)

l. 513. ἀγωνίους, the best sense to give to this disputed word is derived from the old Homeric meaning of ἀγών, 'gathering' (like ἀγορά). Iliad 15. 428, 16. 500 νεῶν ἐν ἀγῶνι, 24. 1 λῦτο δ' ἀγῶν; cp. ἀγῶνας θέντες 835. So ἀγῶνιοι will be the same as ἀγοραῖοι, 'gods of the gathering,' i.e. of the city life, see note on 88. (The Schol. on Hom. 24. 1 expressly says that Aeschylus calls ἀγοραῖοι ἀγῶνιοι.)

l. 514. τιμώροϛ [τιμα- for-, cp. πυλωρός, οἰκουρός, φρουρός, etc.], lit. 'honour-guarder,' so 'champion,' 'protector.' The meaning 'avenger' was secondary, though naturally following from the primary one.

l. 517. δορός, gen. of separation, as after words of 'freeing,' 'emptying,' etc.; 'those whom the spear hath spared.'

l. 519. 'Royal seats,' the marble throne of the king at the door of the palace, where he sat to do justice, or on any state occasion.

ἀντήλιοι (Ionic form for ἀνθ.), 'sunward-facing,' the statues being placed to look east.

l. 521. κόσμῳ, 'duly.' Observe three datives of instr., manner, and time.

l. 524. καὶ γὰρ οὖν, 'for indeed it is fitting;' the οὖν adds earnestness or emphasis. So καὶ γὰρ οὖν κείνην ἴσον ἐπατιῶμαι Soph. Ant. 489, εὖ γὰρ οὖν λέγεις ib. 771, οὐ γὰρ οὖν σιγήσομαι O. C. 980.

l. 526. τῇ κατείργασται πέδον, 'wherewith the soil has been ploughed up,' a kind of grim irony; 'the mattock of avenging Zeus' having in a terrible sense 'ploughed up' the soil of Troy. (τῇ, Epic rel. for τῷ.)

l. 527. This line is like Pers. 811 and some suspect it.

l. 532. 'For neither Paris nor the city, sharer of his ruin, can boast that their deeds surpassed their sufferings.' One οὐτε is omitted. So Soph. Phil. 771 ἐκόντα μήτ' ἄκοντα: and Shakespeare has it, 'but my five wits nor my five senses can dissuade one foolish heart from serving thee' Sonn. 141.

συντελής means, 'one who pays taxes with,' 'is rated with;' hence many take it to mean simply 'city connected with Paris:' but the idea of 'payment' must have been present to the poet in choosing the word; so the version given above is better.

l. 534. Paris is compared to a man convicted of 'theft and plunder.' If one so convicted refused to pay, the claimant seized property of his in pledge for his claim; and the thing seized was *ρύσιον*. Helen is here the *ρύσιον*, which does not therefore mean 'spoil,' as L. S., Pal., though it might be so construed in default of a word to express the associations of *ρύσιον* more precisely.

l. 536. *αὐτόχθονον*, 'land and all,' 137; but the reading is suspect.

l. 537. *θάμάρτια*, *τὰ ἀμάρτια*, 'the penalty for sins,' they have paid twice over. The word is formed like *εὐαγγέλια*, 'reward for good tidings.' (Schol. so takes it.)

l. 538. *τῶν ἀπὸ στρατοῦ*, the common pregnant construction.

l. 539. Enger's emendation for *χαίρω τεθνᾶναι* is good; there is no such word as *τεθνᾶναι*; and the syllable which has fallen out is so like the next one: ΓΕΤΕΘΝ. [Karsten's *τὸ τεθνᾶναι* is also good.]

l. 542. *τερπνῆς*, pred., 'a sweet disease this that ye were affected with.'

l. 543. I.e. 'Tell me, and I shall understand.'

l. 546. *ὥς* for *ὥστε*, as often. See 358.

l. 547. *στρατῶ*, the MSS. reading, is plainly vicious, having come from 545. Hermann's *φρενῶν* is as good as any conjecture, the phrase occurring Ag. 1307, Cho. 80. 'Whence came this bitter gloom of heart upon thee?' [Or take *φράσσον* with Weil: very simple.]

l. 550. *νῦν*, 'just now,' as we say.

*τὸ σὸν*, 'thy words,' referring to 539. 'As thou saidst but now, 'twere joy to die.'

l. 552. MSS. read *εὖ λέξειεν*, which Paley retains. But not merely is *ἄν* required (Paley's instances being all either corrupt or not conditional, see below, 620); *εὖ* is plainly bad with *εὐτετῶς*, from which indeed it has arisen.

ll. 555-7. 'For were I to tell of our troubles and ill lodgment, scant deckways, and hard bivouacs—what hour of the day did we not groan, and [suffer]?' There is no apodosis to *εἰ λέγοιμι*—the break in the construction is more effective. *παρήξεις* is doubtful. It is commonly taken 'landings,' but *παρήκω* means 'to pass along,' and *παρήξεις* should mean 'passages;' probably (as Pal., Br.) on board ship, because it is opposed to *τὰ χέρσφ*. The Schol. takes it so. In the last line *λαχόντες* is plainly corrupt. Pal. says, 'what did we not receive as our daily portion?' but *ἡματός μέρος* cannot surely mean this. We want some word like *πάσχοντες* or *κλαίοντες*.

l. 558. 'And again on land we had still worse to bear.' *τὰ δ' αὖτε χέρσφ*, lit., 'and other things again on land.' *χέρσφ*, dat. local.; it is prop. adj., 'dry,' but in Hom. is always used as subst. without art. *ἐν χέρσων*, *πρὸς χέρσων*, *ἐν χέρσφ*.

l. 562. *πθέντες ἐνθηρον τρίχα*, 'matting our locks like beasts.' The

masc. *τιθέντες* is strange; Schn. suggests he had *δμβροι* in his head; he must have meant to include rain, which would be far worse than mere dew. [Perhaps there is some corruption.]

l. 566. Notice this beautiful line: the poetic feeling for beauty of nature is so rare among the Greeks. 'When on his midday couch windless and waveless ocean sank to sleep,' as Conington finely turns it.

l. 567. Again the construction is effectively broken; *εἰ λέγοι* has no apodosis.

l. 568. *τοῖσι μὲν*. The natural antithesis, 'the living,' is practically given 571.

l. 569. Consecutive constr. again, just as in 15.

l. 570. *ἐν ψήφῳ λέγειν*, lit. 'reckon by the pebble,' i.e. 'count up accurately.'

l. 571. *τύχης*, gen. of reference, common after emotion verbs, *μηνίσας φόνου*, οὗ *χολωθείς*, *δείσας φίλου*, *θανυμάζω τινός*, etc.

l. 572. 'Nay, I bid a long farewell to our sufferings.' *καταξιώ* is used in a strange sense, *εἰπεῖν* or *λέγειν* being the common word; but this must be the meaning; *πολλὰ χαίρειν* is always so used. Somewhat similar is *ἀξιώ*, 'I hail,' 903. [Perhaps *εὐμφορὰς* (Bl. Dav.) is right.]

l. 575. 'So that it is fit we (the survivors) should make boast before this beam of the sun.' *ὥς* for *ὥστε*.

l. 578. 'To the gods of Greece have nailed up these spoils in their shrines a glory for all time.' Notice the double dative, *θεοῖς* recipient, *δόμοις* probably local. *ἀρχαῖον*, unusually but effectively used for 'to be ancient' (proleptic), 'lasting'; see however App. V.

l. 580. *κλύοντας*, 'anyone' hearing such things; yourselves and future generations.

l. 581. Observe *passive* future *τιμήσεται* of the older form; in the *pure* verbs this form is common, as *ἀγορεύσομαι*, *ἀδικήσομαι*, *ἀνιάσομαι*, *ἀξιώσομαι*, *ἀπατήσομαι*, etc. See Veitch, Greek Irregular Verbs.

l. 584. Lit. 'learning well is ever young for the old,' i.e. 'the old are ever young enough to learn.' *εὖ μαθεῖν* is really the subj. of *ἡβᾶ*. There is therefore no need for Enger's ingenious *νοῦς γέροντιν*, which indeed makes the expression duller. [Still better *ἡβη* Marg.]

[At this point *Klytaemnestra* advances from the palace by the middle door; the chorus-leader continues with a look towards her.]

l. 586. *σὺν δὲ πλουτίζειν ἐμέ*, 'but should gladden me likewise,' the subject of *πλουτίζειν* being surely *ταῦτα*, 'the tidings,' not *Klytaemnestra*, as H., nor *σέ*, as Pal.

l. 590. *καὶ τίς μ' ἐνέπτων* clearly refers to the incredulity of the chorus, 483. How would K. know of this, it is asked, as she was not there? The answer is that the chorus only express the general feeling of the citizens which she can naturally be supposed to learn.

## AGAMEMNON.

1. 593. Observe the imperfect ἐφαίνεμην. 'They strove to show me deluded.'

1. 594. γυναικέω νόμφ, 'with womanly strain.' This may mean only that the women began, but the men (ἄλλος ἄλλοθεν) joined in; but perhaps she is still keeping up her satire against the chorus: 'like women (as you would say) the whole city joined in the cry.'

1. 597. κοιμῶντες, 'lulling to rest,' causing it to burn low and die out: with incense and perhaps wine.

1. 598. τὰ μᾶσσω, 'the further tale.'

1. 599. These lines are full of tragic irony to the audience who know her plot.

1. 600. It is best to take δπως final. 'In order that I may best welcome—(then the parenthesis)—take this message,' etc. If we construe δπως ἄριστα together, 'as well as I may,' and put a stop at δέξασθαι (as H., D., Eng., Schn., etc.), ταῦτ' ἀπάγγελον is very abrupt.

1. 606. εὔροι. Observe the terrible irony of this wish, sent as a loving message to Agamemnon.

1. 607. οἶανπερ οὖν ἔλειπε, 'ay, even as he left her.' οὖν is used something like English 'in short'; the second phrase being substituted for πιστήν, as more expressive. Cp. Plat. Prot. ad init. καὶ γὰρ πολλὰ ἐπερ ἐμοῦ εἶπε, καὶ οὖν καὶ ἄρτι ἀπ' ἐκείνου ἔρχομαι, 'he said many kind things for me, and in short, I have only just left him.'

1. 612. χαλκοῦ βαφάς. Perhaps the best way of taking this difficult expression is to suppose a *double entendre*. 'I know no more of dalliance or rumour of shame from other man than—how to dip the brass;' i.e. than I do of the manufacture of tempered swords, clearly not a woman's province. But in her heart she knows well 'how to dip the brass' in Agamemnon's blood, and means to do it.

1. 613. τῆς ἀληθείας γέμων is effective, considering the cynical falseness of Klytaemnestra's speech.

11. 615, 16. A difficult couplet. τοροῖσιν ἐρμηνεύσιν can be taken (dat. inst.) with μαθάνοντι or with εὐπρεπῶς. The latter is perhaps most likely, as ἐρμηνεύς is naturally a person, and the instrumental use unlikely. 'Thus hath she spoken to thy listening ears her word—to clear interpreters fair seeming;' a very delicate way of hinting that she has said rather too much of her own virtues.

1. 617. πεύθομαι, other form of πυνθάνομαι. Similar pairs are λείπω λιμπάνω, φεύγω φυγγάνω, λήθω λανθάνω.

1. 620. 'I could not tell false tidings to seem fair,' καλὰ being predicative. δπως λέξαιμι is the remote deliberative optative; see Appendix I.

1. 621. 'For friends to reap delight therefrom for long;' i.e. the pleasure of good news if false is shortlived. καρποῦσθαι, expegetic inf.



NOTES. LINES 593-650.

l. 622. The chorus reply, imitating the form of the herald's sentence: 'Would that then thou couldst speak truth to seem good'; *κεδνά* being predicative, like *καλά*. So Klaus., Ken. [It is usually taken (e.g. Herm., Eng., Schn., etc.), 'How then couldst thou, speaking good news, chance to speak truth?' understanding *εἰπών* again. This is possible, but not so neat as the other.]

l. 626. 'Setting sail in sight of all' (did he perish?); i.e. was he parted from you by his own act or by a storm?

l. 630. The important words are *ζώντος ἢ τεθνηκέτος*, which are predicative. 'Did rumour speak of him as alive or dead?' is the sense. *αὐτοῦ*, obj. gen. after *φάντις*; see 1367.

l. 635. 'How rose, how sank the storm?' *Mors.*

l. 637. *χωρὶς ἢ τιμῇ θεῶν*, 'the honours of the gods are apart (from evil tidings)'; i.e. 'it besseems not the service of the gods.' He goes on to explain that if news of disaster were brought, instead of triumph, then a paean to the Erinyes (as opp. to *θεοί*) would be the right thing; as the news is good, and there is thanksgiving, it must not be spoiled.

l. 640. *τυχεῖν* is perhaps best taken as expegetic inf.; and then *ἔλκος* and *πολλούς* are both accusatives in apposition to *πήματα* 638. Otherwise *ἔλκος τυχεῖν* is acc. inf., and then we have the awkwardness of the construction being changed to participle in 641. The sense is, 'to the city one woe, the public loss, to suffer, and many *μεν*, etc.; i.e. the public loss and the private sufferings. [*τυχόν*, H.: neat but needless.]

l. 641. *ἐξαγισθέντας*, an expressive word; 'victims cast out,' 'cast out and consecrate to death.' *Mors.*

ll. 642, 3. 'With the two-thonged scourge, that Ares loves, a double-pointed curse, a bloody pair,' imaginative and high sounding phrases for the twofold suffering to state and individual already given 640.

Notice *τήν*, Epic relative. The accusatives in 643 are best taken as in agreement (by a kind of natural attraction or loose apposition) with the relative *τήν*.

l. 644. *μέντοι*, 'indeed,' 'tis true'; 'with such woes indeed laden one should sing this paean of the Furies.' *μέντοι* concessive, as often.

l. 645. *τόνδ᾽*, i.e. such a one as suits these woes.

l. 648. Again the construction broken; he springs from the general statement (which expects *πῶς πρέπει τοῦτον συμμίζειν*; or something of the kind) to the first person.

l. 649. Taking the corrected reading *Ἀχαιοῖς...θεῶν*. Construe: 'storm sent by wrathful gods upon the Achaei.' For *ἀμήνιτον θεῶν* see 311.

l. 650. Paley aptly quotes Milton, Par. Reg. 4. 412 'Water with fire in ruin reconciled;' and Schn. no less aptly Shakesp. Troilus and Cressida, 2. 2 'The winds and waves, old wranglers, took a truce.'

1. 651. τὰ πῖστ' ἰδεῖξάτην, 'proved their bond.'
1. 653. Some put the stop at νυκτὶ; but it is better as it is.
1. 654. Θρησκίαι, 'north winds;' cp. 192.
1. 656. 'With violent storm and splash of beating rain.' Only in Epic style he couples the dat. of circumstances (χειμῶνι) to the dat. after σύν. The cases really describe the same relation, the preposition only making it more precise. Some propose to take τυφῶ as gen. after ζάλη; but it is better and simpler to take it, as above, with χειμῶνι.
1. 657. 'With the whirling gust of the evil shepherd;' a sudden bold metaphor flashing out in Aeschylus' style. The hurricane is 'an evil shepherd;' the fleet are his sheep which he drives hither and thither to their ruin.
1. 659. ἀνθούν νεκροῖς, 'flowering with dead,' another audacious metaphor; though ἀνθῶν is more familiarly used in Greek metaphorically than 'flower' with us.
1. 661. γε μὲν δὴ, 'however;' γε μὴν, γε μέντοι, γε μὲν δὴ, all used in this corrective or qualifying sense. Soph. Tr. 484 ἐπεὶ γε μὲν δὴ πάντ' ἐπίστασαι. ἀκήρατον σκάφος, best taken as apposition; not as Pal., 'unharmful in hull.' [Auratus' νεὸς τ' is possible.]
1. 662. 'Stole us away or begged us off' from destruction; a bold but quite characteristic phrase, requiring no emendation.
1. 664. Paley prosaically thinks that this splendidly imaginative line describes an electric phenomenon! 'And on the bark sat Fortune the saviour, a willing passenger.'
1. 665. ὡς for ὥστε.
- κύματος ζάλην ἔχειν, 'wave-tossed;' the subject is ἡμᾶς, or 'the ship,' readily understood from 661.
1. 666. ἐξοκέϊλαι, intr. 'run aground.'
1. 669. βουκολούμεν, a metaphor quite different from, but as strange and picturesque as, the English 'brooded over.' So βουκολούμενος πόνον, Eumen. 78.
1. 670. σποδομένον, lit. 'dusted;' i.e. 'beaten,' 'buffeted.'
1. 672. τί μή, 'why should they not?' the verb understood being the deliberative subjunctive, as μή shows. This is possible, though the phrase is unusual [it occurs Soph. Aj. 668], but perhaps τί μὴν is right.
1. 674. γὰρ οὖν, justifying his good wish: 'May it turn out well; [and I mean it], for indeed Menelaos you may expect, first and most of all.' See 524.
1. 676. δ' οὖν, 'anyhow;' hastening to practical conclusion, cf. 34. ἱστορεῖ, 'finds.' The word is from *Fiδ*, and properly means, 'to get knowledge,' hence is used (like *πυνθάνομαι*) to mean both *inquire* and *learn*.  
[After 680 the Herald goes off, and the Second Scene ends.  
The Chorus then sing the Second Stasimon, as follows:—

*Str. α'.* (681-698). 'Who was it so fitly named Helena, the ἑλε-ναῦς? forth she sailed, with the armed huntsmen after her, to Simois' shores.  
*Ant. α'.* (699-716). The marriage-κῆδος (bond) proved indeed a κῆδος (care); Zeus exacted after-vengeance from those who triumphantly sang the marriage song, changing the note to bitter wailing.

*Str. β'.* (717-725). 'As a man rears a lion's whelp, gentle and a plaything at first; *Ant. β'.* (726-735) but soon its savage temper shows, and it ravages the flocks, filling the house with blood; so (*Str. γ'.* 737) Helena came, fair and lovely, to Troy; but she proved a curse.

*Ant. γ'.* (750-762). 'The old saying makes sorrow born of prosperity; this I do not hold with; it is impiety, not wealth, that begets evil offspring.

*Str. δ'.* *Ant. δ'.* (736-781). 'The old wickedness brings forth new wickedness when the appointed day comes, and fatal daring. But justice burns brightly in the cottage, flying from the guilty palace; she guides all to the goal.'

For the bearing of the Chorus on the drama, see Introduction, p. xviii.]

l. 684. μή τις. 'Was it some one?' μή, interrogative; originally, no doubt, *banishing the thought* (μή not οὐ). 'Surely not one who...!'

l. 685. ἐν τύχῃ, 'by good hap,' it was a chance name, yet guided by secret foresight (πρόνοια) of what was to follow.

l. 686. δορίγαμβρον ἀμφινεικὴ θ', 'the sword-won bride, the source of strife.'

l. 687. The MSS. both give ἑλένας, which form points the word-play much better than ἑλένας the ordinary reading, if it is a possible form. It may be a Doric form from ἑλε-ναf-s, as Μενέλας is from Μene-λαf-s. (Salmasius, Eng.) 'Ship's hell, Man's hell, City's hell,' says Browning, though the English is stronger than the Greek. To the Greek mind there was something mysterious about the suitability of names to fates of men; it had a deep significance, and was not trivial or accidental. Compare Soph. Aj. 430; Theb. 658.

l. 690. ἀβροτίμων, 'delicate-costly,' a bold but not unlikely compound. [No need to accept Salmasius's ingenious emendation ἀβροπήνων, 'delicate-woven;' though Aesch. may have written it.]

l. 692. γίγαντος, 'mighty;' γίγας is redupl. from γα-, 'grow,' and means, 'the big-grown one,' 'the monster.'

l. 695. 'The host of shielded huntsmen' are of course the Greek pursuers.

MSS. κατ' ἔχθος πλάταν ἀφαντρον κελσάντων, which will construe, 'on the track of those who drove ashore on Simois' leafy coast the vanishing oar,' but the emendation πλατᾶν makes the sense so vastly richer and better, '... huntsmen on the oarblades' unseen track [not a visible trail like other hunters] of those who,' etc.; a splendid phrase.

l. 699. 'Wrath, its end accomplishing, sped to Ilium this marriage-bond, a trouble indeed,' a play on the two meanings of κῆδος.

l. 700. ἀτίμως πρᾶσσομένα, 'exacting requital for the wrong;' τίοντας, 'from those who honoured,' the regular construction of πρᾶσσεσθαι in this sense. Cf. Εὐρυμέδοντα χρήματα ἐπράξαντο Thuc. 4. 65.

l. 705. 'Those who honoured over-much the bridal strain' were the γαμβροί, or 'marriage kin' of Helena, i. e. the children of Priam, who sang triumphantly the marriage song, glorying in Paris' deed. ἐκφάτως is a doubtful word, either 'unspeakably,' or better perhaps 'loudly' (lit. 'outspokenly.') τίοντας, they *honoured* the violent deed; they *dishonoured* hospitality and Zeus protector of friendship. The article is omitted with the participle, as 59.

l. 706. τότε, 'at the time,' significantly; afterwards they 'sang another tune,' 709.

l. 707. ὑμέναιον is in apposition to μέλος.

l. 709. 'The note is changed, the city wails with bitter lament.' Literally, 'learning a new song of bitter lament (πολύθρηνον, predicative) the city groans.'

l. 711. Mr. Verrall, in the Journal of Philology, 9. 140, ingeniously explains αἰν-δλεκ-τρον as a play on Ἀλέξ-αν-δρον with inverted syllables, 'calling Paris (no longer the man-repeller, but) the man of the fatal bridal.' But we can hardly accept this as more than a brilliant guess. It would, no doubt, suit excellently with the temper which dwells on the significance of Ἑλένα and κῆδος; but the real objection is not the play on the words, but the remoteness of the resemblance.

ll. 714-16. Corrupt, but not so as to obscure the sense. πολίταν of the MSS. must be πολιτῶν, gen. plur., and the first word must be an adv. 'utterly,' or an adj. 'miserable.' I have taken provisionally παμ-πορθῇ (Seidler., Herm.) πολύθρηνον αἰῶνα διὰ πολιτῶν μέλεον αἶμ' ἀνατλάσα, 'having borne a ruined life of lament for the piteous blood of her sons.'

διαί (Davies) for sake of metre, instead of ἀμφί; which might be a gloss on it.

l. 717. λέοντος ἴνιν, 'lion's whelp,' Conington's splendid and certain emendation of λέοντα σίνιν, which spoils the sense; in the strophe the lion is young and a delight, it is only in the antistrophe that it is grown up and become a pest. ἴνις, old poetic word, from ἰς, 'strength,' meaning the 'vigorous young' thing, occurs Eum. 323, Suppl. 43.

ἔθρεψεν, habitual aorist, used from Homer down, e.g. κοτύλην τις τυτθὸν ἐπέσχε Il. 22. 494; so the verbs below, ἔσχε, ἀπέδειξε, ἔτευξε, ἐφύρθη. Construe it by the present, 'rears.'

l. 718. δόμοις, local (Epic use).

ἀγάλακτον, 'robbed of his mother's milk,' antithesis to φιλόμαστον, 'desiring the breast.' [Others take ἀγάλακτον οἴκοις, 'fed with the same milk as the house' (ἀ-γαλ, like ἀ-λοχος, ἀ-δελφός), and Hesych. so explains the word; but the other sense seems better.]

l. 720. προτελείεις, 65.

l. 723. MSS. ἔσχ', intrans. 'lay,' but as ἔχω is only used with adverbs intransitive, probably ἔσκε (Homeric frequentative for ἔην), which occurs Persae 656, is the right reading.

l. 725. σαίνων γαστρός ἀνάγκαις, 'taught to fawn by its hunger-pangs.'

l. 728. ἦθος (for MSS. ἔθος), Conington's emendation, again improves the sense, and suits the strophe.

l. 730. MSS. μηλοφόνοισιν ἄταις or ἄταισι. The best correction is μηλοφόνοισι σὺν ἄταις, Ahrens (Eng., Schn.), the syllables -σι σὺν having run into -σιν.

[Other attempts, ἀγαισι, ἄγαισι, H., δσαισι, Con., θανάτοισι, K., are less suitable.]

'For, in requital to those who reared him, with fell destruction among the flocks he makes a feast unbidden.'

l. 735. ἱερεὺς τις ἄτας, 'a priest of ruin,' fine imaginative phrase, suggesting that Ἄτη, or Destruction, sends the lion to sacrifice to her.

l. 737. '(So) I should say there came at the first a spirit of windless calm,' etc.

παρ' αὐτά, 'at first,' opposed to what happened afterwards, παρακλίνας' ἐπέκρανεν. So Eur. πάραντα δ' ἡσθεὶς ὕστερον στένει. The point of the comparison is the contrast between the softness and sweetness at first, and the bloody and bitter end.

Observe the passion and the splendour of these wonderful lines.

[Others take πάραντα, 'in like manner.' Kl., K., Eng. So L.S., who however, mistranslate it in Demosthenes, l. c. Moreover Hesych. says παραχρήμα.]

l. 745. 'Yet turning aside [from the first sweetness and softness] she brought to pass a fatal fulfilment of marriage; she came an evil neighbour, an evil guest, to the sons of Priam, at the bidding of Zeus, god of friendship, a Fury, a woe of brides.'

l. 750. Observe γέρον used as adj., 'old.' It is a poetical use from Homer down (γέρον σάκος, Od. 22. 184).

l. 751. μέγαν τελεσθέντα ὄλβον. 'Prosperity when grown to full estate.' Aeschylus is rejecting the old Greek superstition that Prosperity or Wealth brings woe; it is not wealth, he says, but always Sin. See Introduction, pp. xiii, xviii.

l. 760. μέτα, 'afterwards,' adverbially.

l. 762. καλλίπαις, 'is blessed in the children,' i.e. is good and prosperous in succeeding generations.

ll. 763-771. For the lesser corruptions of the MSS., which have been corrected, see critical notes. The only important corruption is *νεαρά φάους κύτον*, which is desperate. I have adopted Ahrens' *φάος τόκου* as the best sense and least violent change. (*νεαρά* comes from a gloss.)

[Paley's correction, *νέα δ' ἔφυσε κόρον*, gets a good sense and antithesis to *παλαιά μέν*: but the real antithesis to *παλαιά μέν* is given in *νεάζουσιν ὕβριν*, and *κόρον* is too bold, introducing as it does an altogether new idea.]

l. 764. 'At this time or at that, whene'er the appointed day of birth arrive.'

l. 770. To take *θράσος μελαίνας μ. ἄτας* together, 'the boldness of a black Curse' (with H., Kl., Eng., Schn., Weil, etc.,) is very harsh; it is far better that the two births should be 'Young Violence,' 763, and *Θράσος*, 'Recklessness,' 'black curses to the house, like to their parents,' reading *εἰδομένας*.

l. 775. To omit *βλον* suits the metre and improves the sense; 'honours the just man.'

l. 776. *τὰ χρυσόπαστα δ' ἔδεθλα*, 'the gold-bespangled dwellings.' *ἔδεθλα*, a certain and beautiful emendation by Auratus of the meaningless MSS. *ἔσθλα*.

l. 779. *ῥσια προσέμολε*, sc. *ἔδεθλα*, 'she visits the pure dwellings.' *προσέμολε*, gnomic aor. 717.

l. 780. *παράσημον αἶψα*, met., as often in Greek, from coining, 'with its counterfeit glory' (lit. 'stamped amiss with praise').

l. 781. 'And she guides all to the goal.'

Ostensibly the meaning of all this reflection (750-781) is that the sin of Paris and Helena has brought the misery on themselves and Troy; but the underlying meaning to the audience is that the past sins of Agamemnon and his house must bear other sins, and ruin in the end. So there is a terrible sense concealed in *πάν δ' ἐπὶ τέρμα νωμῶ*, namely, the shadow of the coming tragedy, which is effectively pointed by the entry of the king.

[Agamemnon now approaches in a triumphal car, with his attendants and prisoners, and in another chariot Cassandra as prisoner; the Chorus address him.]

ll. 782-809. 'Conqueror, my king, how shall I fitly address thee? It is easy to profess joy; show of sympathy in woe or weal is common, where there is no true feeling. Yet, a wise king can detect false flattery. When thou didst go forth we did not think well of thy wisdom; but now we greet heartily the victors. And thou shalt discern who of the citizens has been true guardian of thy state.'

l. 786. 'Neither overshooting nor running short of the due mark of praise,' where the English renders exactly the mixed metaphors of *ὑπεράρας* ('the bow'), and *ὑποκάμψας* ('with the chariot'), in the Greek.

# NOTES. LINES 763-811.

1. 788. τὸ δοκεῖν εἶναι, 'Seeming to be,' they prefer [to being really].  
 1. 791. 'While no stab of pain reaches the heart,' i.e. without any sincere grief.

1. 793. ὁμοιοπρεπεῖς, 'in seeming sympathy.'

1. 794. 'Constraining their grave looks' to a false smile.

1. 795. προβατογνώμων, 'wise to discern his flock,' an obvious metaphor.

ll. 796-8. 'The eyes of no man can escape him, which, as though from a kindly heart, with a watery love are fawning,' i.e. he can discern the 'watery' love with its pretence of good will. ὕδαρης, a most expressive word.

1. 801. 'No graceful portrait had I drawn of thee (μοι, dat. agent after pf. pass.), nor as one well wielding,' etc.

1. 803. MSS. read θράσος ἐκούσιον, no metre or sense. Some read ἀκούσιον, 'bringing to dying men courage against their will,' forcing the reluctant and suffering army to persevere. This is surely impossible. Franz ingeniously suggested ἐκ θυσιῶν, 'bringing to dying men courage from sacrifices,' 'encouraging the afflicted army by sacrificing Iphigeneia.' This is scarcely more satisfactory; but provisionally I adopt it.

ll. 805, 6. With the MSS. reading πόνος we can only construe, 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart (lit. 'not from the top of the heart, nor unlovingly') the toil is welcome to those who have accomplished it,' which can only mean, 'the army no longer complain;' but the point is that 'we the citizens have changed our unfavourable opinion;' so the ordinary reading makes irrelevant sense. Weil suggests πνός (= πνοή, Hesych.) and Eng. adopts it; the sense is then satisfactory: 'but now from the depths of a friendly heart a breeze of goodwill is wafted to the victors.' Intrinsically the word is quite possible, it is exactly like ῥόος, ῥοὺς, πλόος, πλοὺς. [Karst. suggests πόνον; but that makes the construction of εὐφρων harsh: 'I am friendly.']

1. 808. ἀκαίρως, 'amiss,' a euphemism; he means of course to hint at the plotting and faithlessness of the queen and her lover.

[ll. 810-974. SCENE III. *The chariots stop; Klytaemnestra comes out of the palace to welcome the king, who speaks from the chariot.* First he gives thanks; speaks to Chorus about false friends; promises to see well to the state. Klytaemnestra describes her wretchedness while her lord was away, and her joy at seeing him again; she then calls her attendants to lay down purple carpeting for him to enter the palace. After some reluctance he agrees, and descends, bidding her be kind to Cassandra. The queen says she scorns the waste of wealth in comparison with joy at his return, and ends with a cry to Zeus to accomplish her prayers.]

1. 811. τοὺς ἐμοὶ μεταίτιους, might mean 'who helped to win for me'

(K.), but it better suits the pride of the speech to take it, 'helpers with me in our return.'

l. 812. ὧν, attracted relative for εἰ, since πράσσεσθαι has double acc. (700).

l. 813. δέκας... κλύοντες, 'not hearing pleadings from the tongue,' but with divine insight and justice.

l. 816. ψήφους ἔθεντο, 'voted,' only the word which ought to be a transitive verb governing φθοράς is expanded at the last moment into the more vivid ψήφους ἔθεντο. Grammar is sacrificed to picturesqueness. So exactly Soph. El. 709 σπάντες δ' ὅθ' αὐτοὺς οἱ βραβῆς κλήρους ἔπηλαν, i.e. *stationed* them by lot.

l. 817. The MSS. reading requires no alteration here: 'but to the opposite urn hope of the hand came nigh, yet it was not filled,' a quaint and fanciful but quite characteristic way of saying 'the other urn expected votes but did not get them.' The two urns (called in Attic κῆδοσποι) were one for condemnation, one for acquittal; 'the bloody vessel' is of course the former. This was only one among various methods of balloting at Athens. [Others take χειρός, less naturally, as gen. after πληρουμένῃ. Paley's χεῖλος spoils the sense.]

l. 818. 'The smoke yet plainly shows the captured city;' ἀλοῦσα attributive, not part of the predicate.

l. 819. Ἄτης θύελλαι ζῶσι, 'the gusts of Destruction yet live; and dying with them the ash sends forth rich incense of wealth.' There is no need to alter with Herm. to θηλαί, 'sacrifices;' the strong bold imagery of Aeschylus might easily call the Fire of Troy 'the storms of Destruction.'

l. 823. I adopt Hermann's and Paley's ἐφραζάμεσθα for the MSS. (inappropriate) ἐπραξ. 'We set our wrathful snares close round the city.' The same word, φράσσω (properly 'to hedge in,' or 'fence close'), is used of a net, 1376.

l. 824. 'The wild beast of Argos' is the armed troop concealed in the wooden horse.

l. 826. 'Springing its leap, what time the Pleiads set,' i.e. in early November. The common story that Troy was taken in spring Aeschylus deserts; probably tradition varied.

l. 828. αἱματος, gen. after ἄδην; cf. *satis*, *c. gen.* in Lat.

l. 830. μέμνημαι κλύων, not 'I remember hearing,' which is flat, but 'I heard and remember.'

l. 833. φίλον τὸν εὐτυχοῦντ', 'the prosperous friend;' φίλον substantival, as often.

l. 834. 'The poison of illwill seated at the heart,' καρδίαν, acc. after verb of sitting, cf. σέλμα ἡμένων 184, ναῦν ἐφίξετο 664.

l. 836. αὐτός, displaced to get next to αὐταῦ, a common tend-



ency; so ἐπ' αὐτὸς αὐτῷ Pr. 921; and similarly πρὸς ἄλλοι' ἄλλον ἰδ. 276.

ll. 838-40. These words are variously taken according to the punctuation. The following seems simplest and most natural. 'I know and can tell (for well have I learnt) of that ghost of friendship, that phantom of a shade, men seeming to wish me truly well.' I. e. κάτοπτρον, εἰδωλον, δοκούντας, all in apposition, and acc. after λέγοιμ' ἄν. κάτοπτρον, a bold word for 'image;' it properly means 'mirror.'

l. 841. οὐχ ἑκὼν, so (Odyssey 24. 117) Agamemnon says: 'And it was a full month ere we had sailed all across the wide sea, for scarce could we win to our cause Odysseus' (Butcher and Lang, p. 392).

l. 842. σειραφόρος, 'trace-horse,' who helped the yoke horses (the Atreidae) to draw the chariot.

l. 843. 'Whether indeed he be dead or living of whom I speak.'

l. 844. τὰ ἄλλα πρὸς, 'the other things which concern,' the article goes on to the πρὸς.

l. 845. ἀγῶνας, 'gathering,' see note on 513.

l. 848. ὅτῳ, best taken neuter and general.

l. 850. πῆμ' ἀποστρέψαι νόσον. Porson's beautiful and convincing emendation of MSS. πῆματος τρέψαι νόσον: which Hermann strangely defends, though τρέψαι is an unnatural word, and νόσον πῆματος much harsher than πῆμα νόσον.

l. 852. δεξιόσομαι, 'I will give greeting;' but the construction is usually transitive, with acc. What he did do when he reached the μέλαθρα and δόμους ἐφεστίους was very different from thanksgiving!

l. 856. Observe her cynical shamelessness; she adopts the tone of a chaste and modest matron who scarcely likes to speak of her wifely love before others.

l. 857. A deadly double meaning here; in a terrible sense 'fear was waning' for her, but to Agamemnon the meaning was natural and simple, 'the elders and I have grown familiar in the king's long absence.'

l. 862. Note the dramatic irony again of ἔρημον in the mouth of the adulteress.

ll. 864, 5. Order a little loose, but meaning clear; 'and that when one had come with one woe another should bring a worse thereafter, announcing them to the house.'

l. 867. ὥχετεύετο, rumour 'came pouring in.'

l. 868. Ahrens' τέτρηται is a great improvement on MSS. τέτρωται, which is dull after τραυμάτων, 'no network were as full of holes as he' (Mors.). The cold-blooded phrase suits Klytaemnestra.

l. 871. Certainly interpolated. πολλὰν ἀνοθεν has got in from 875, and the rest was written by some dull copyist. (H. has an elaborate and astonishing defence of it.) Without the line the sense is, 'a second

## AGAMEMNON.

Geryon, with triple body, a triple vest of earth he might have boasted, dying once with each shape.' Geryon, the three-headed (or as here three-bodied, *forma tricornis umbræ*,) monster whose oxen Herakles drove away from Spain.

1. 872. ἐξηύχει λαβών, the MSS. reading is possible, 'he might have boasted it, having received it;' but λαβεῖν is perhaps more likely.

1. 875. 'Ofttimes have others loosed the high-hung halters from my neck, caught violently in the noose.' Others construe, 'seized me by violence and loosed;' but that would be ληφθείσης, the *act*, not λελημμένης, the *state*. [See however App. V.]

1. 878. 'In whom lie the pledges of our love.' κύριος, 'the owner,' 'the lord.' MSS. πιστευμάτων; but πιστωμάτων, the regular word, is surely right.

1. 880. Strophios, king of Phokis, friend (and according to one story brother-in-law) of Agamemnon, received Orestes, and brought him up with his own son Pylades. The details are given very variously.

1. 881. ἀμφιλεκτα (like Lat. *anceps*) here means simply 'double;' 1585 it means 'disputed;' literally, it is 'spoken both ways,' which covers both meanings.

1. 884. βουλὴν, 'the council,' the πρέσβος Ἀργείων who have helped the queen to rule.

ὥστε for ὥς, 'as it is men's wont.'

1. 885. πεσόντα is Agamemnon, whose fall before Troy would have been 'doubly' woeful; to himself, and to his kingdom and family at home.

1. 886. μέντοι, confirmative, 'verily,' 'assuredly;' so Plato, Phaed. 65 D φαμέν τι εἶναι δίκαιον; φαμέν μέντοι νῆ Δία, 'assuredly we do.'

1. 887. ἔμοιγε μὲν δὴ, 'for myself however,' 661.

1. 888. κατεσβήκασι (intr. perf.), 'are dried up;' so of the sea, 959. So Hesiod, Op. 588, speaks of αἶγες σβεννύμεναι, 'goats which will not yield milk.' The common use is 'to quench,' of fire, etc.; but probably the earliest meaning was vaguer, suiting both fire and liquids.

1. 890. 'Weeping that the watch-fires lit for thee were ever unregarded,' i.e. the fires we lit night after night awaiting thee, who never camest. This is better than supposing λαμπητρονχίαι to refer to *beacons of victory*, which would give a very strained sense to ἀτημελήτους, viz. 'unlit.' [Enger takes it as above, 'only reads needlessly καίονσα.]

1. 892. ὑπᾶί, best taken as governing βῆαις, 'beneath the light hum of the singing gnat.'

1. 893. θώσσω, word of obscure origin, usually 'to call, shout, cry.'

1. 894. 'More woes than the time of my sleep,' an abridged (but quite intelligible) expression; she means 'more woes than could be

# NOTES. LINES 872-929.

suffered in the time I was asleep.' Observe also the picturesque *συνεύδοντος*, the time 'is sleeping with her' that passes while she sleeps. The *personifying* instinct pervades the language of Aeschylus. Somewhat similarly in Soph. *χρόνος συνὼν διδάσκει* O. C. 7, *ὁ προστάτων χρόνος διηγέ μ'* El. 781, and *σύμφυτος αἰὼν* above, 107.

l. 896. *σταθμῶν*, in the old Homeric sense, 'stalls,' or 'folds.'

l. 897. 'The saviour forestay of the ship,' *Br.*, *πρότονος* being the ropes from the top of the mast to the bows, which kept the mast from falling back.

l. 899. *καί* has offended many editors, as the other nouns are unconnected; but Kl. and Schn. are no doubt right in saying that it connects 896-898, which describes the *protection and security* afforded by the master, with 899-901, which describes the *delight* of his unlooked-for return. The transition from one set to the other set is marked by *καί*.

l. 902. *τάναγκαῖον*, 'the stress of need.'

l. 903. *ἄξιῶ*, 'I greet him,' see 572.

l. 904. 'Let none envy me' my luck; 'let no (god or man) grudge my joy and triumph at my lord's return;' she acts the ordinary feeling of a pious Greek in moments of great delight, which increases the irony of the situation to those who know her purpose.

[Here *Klytaemnestra* kneels to him.]

l. 908. *τέλος*, 'task.'

l. 912. Observe the splendid irony again of this terrible line, 'That justice lead him to a home unlooked for.'

l. 913. 'All else my care, not overcome by sleep, shall order justly with God's aid, as fated.' *εἰμαρμένα*, 'being fated,' really causal use of participle. The dark irony is carried through these lines also. They seem to mean, 'We will be careful with God's aid to order things as is fit;' they do mean, 'What justice and fate require (the murder) I will by God's aid accomplish.'

l. 914. Leda, wife of Tyndareus, visited by Zeus in the form of a swan, laid two eggs; out of one came Helena and Klyt., out of the other Castor and Pollux. This was one common form of a variously told tale.

l. 915. *εἰκότως* governs the datives; 'as befits my absence.'

l. 920. A contemptuous line; 'pour thy low-groveling clamour in my ears.' Note *χαμαιπετές* transferred from her to the cry.

l. 924. *ἐμοὶ μὲν*, 'to me at least;' the antithesis being suppressed, *μὲν* gets this meaning naturally.

l. 925. *λέγω*, 'I bid,' as often.

l. 926. *ποδοψήστρων*, 'foot-rugs' [*ψα*-, 'rub'], contemptuous again.

l. 927. *κληδὼν ἄντει*, 'fame's voice is loud.'

l. 929. 'Count a man happy when he has ended his life in prosperity,' the well-known Greek thought, cf. Soph. O. T. 1530. The rapidity of

Agamemnon's thoughts make the language a little obscure. 'Fame does not require such gauds; prudence is God's best gift; no man can be called happy till his death;' i. e. they are needless, these splendours, and perhaps dangerous; who knows what may happen even to me?

l. 930. MSS. read *εἰ πάντα ὅς ἂν πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν*, which is quite possible Greek, but only as a *double* conditional sentence, where *πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν* is the verb, not only of the protasis to *εὐδαμον ἔγωγε*, but also strictly of the *apodosis* to some other protasis understood. E. g. Dem. Meid. 582 fin. *εἰ οὗτοι χρήματα ἔχοντες μὴ ποιοῖντ' ἄν*, if these men *would not spend money if they had it*; Isocr. Archid. 120 *εἰ δὲ μηδεὶς ἄν ἀξιώσειε ζῆν ἀποστερούμενος τῆς πατρίδος*, 'if no one *would care to live if deprived* of his country.' And without second protasis expressed, *εἰ μὴ ποιήσαιτ' ἄν τοῦτο* Dem. Phil. 1. § 18. So here the MSS. reading means, 'if in all things so [not *I were to prosper*, which is *πρᾶσσοιμι*, but] *I might prosper*' ('should chance so befall' or something of the kind). Putting it otherwise, *εἰ πρᾶσσοιμι* means, 'if *I were to prosper*,' *εἰ πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν*, 'if *I have a chance of prospering*,' and this latter makes quite good sense. In fact *πρᾶσσοιμ' ἄν* is a variation, not for *πρᾶσσοιμι*, but for *πράξω*, less confidently expressed. I see therefore no need to take *πρᾶσσοιμεν* (H., D.), though doubtless this also would make perfectly good sense: 'If so I fared in all things then I need not fear,' if everything were to turn out as this has, my luck would indeed be good. Nor is there any need of Weil's ingenious conjecture *εἶπον τὰδ' ὡς ...*

l. 931. 'Yet order this not counter to my purpose.' Observe aor. imper. with *μή*, contrary to rule; but readily explained by the order, the verb coming first. *γνώμη*, like *γῶμαι*, can be used for 'resolve.'

l. 932. 'I too, be assured, shall not break my purpose;' *ἐμεῖ* is emphatic as well as *γνώμην*; as though he said, 'Purpose! I too have one as well as thou.'

l. 933. 'Perchance *in fear* thou mad'st this vow?' Having failed to get him to comply as a favour, she tries a taunt of cowardice. *ἄν* of course goes with *ἤψω*; she *means*, 'you *did* vow,' but the conditional form of the sentence ('you may have done' = '*perhaps* you did') points the sneer better, with its ironical moderation. So Soph. O. T. 523 *ἦλθε τοῦναιδος τάχ' ἄν*, 'perchance this reproach came.' So *παρεκόπησεν ἄν* 1252.

l. 934. The answer is that of a dignified and unyielding king: 'If e'er man did, with knowledge I spake my resolve.' *τέλος*, 'the final decision.' Agamemnon replies in effect that it was not a cowardly vow but a deliberate purpose.

l. 935. *τί ἂν δοκεῖ*, one of those short phrases like *ἴνα τί*, where one would not say the verb is understood, but rather that *τί* stands for the omitted clause. So Plat. Phaedr. 234 C *τί σοι φαίνεται ὁ λόγος; οὐκ ὑπερφύως εἰρησθαί* (see Riddell, Dig. of Gr. Id. 121).

l. 938. The very sentiment of the chorus, 456.

l. 939. 'Who stirs no hatred, is not envied either.' You must risk *φθόνος*, the evil envy, if you wish to have *ζήλος*, the desirable envy. So (Menex. 242 A) Socrates, describing Athens after the war, says, *ἦλθεν ἐπ' αὐτὴν ὅπερ φιλεῖ τοῖς εὖ πράττουσι προσπίπτειν, πρῶτον μὲν ζήλος ἀπὸ ζήλου δὲ φθόνος*. Arist. Rhet. 2. 11 defines the two, *ἐπεικὲς ἐστὶν ὁ ζήλος καὶ ἐπεικῶν, τὸ δὲ φθονεῖν φαῦλον καὶ φαύλον*.

l. 940. Agamemnon, already yielding, tries a last appeal to her womanly dignity. 'A woman should not be contentious;' but she skilfully appeals to his generosity as victor. 'It becomes the fortunate to be vanquished too,' to yield in their turn.

l. 942. 'Dost thou too esteem this victory in the strife?' *νίκην τήνδε*, this victory of which you speak, taking up *νικᾶσθαι*. [Goodwin, who has discussed with great subtlety all this passage (Trans. Amer. Phil. Ass. 1877), translates, 'is *this* the kind of victory..?' i. e. *τὸ νικᾶσθαι*, ironically. But *καὶ σὺ* is the really emphatic part, not *τήνδε*, and the meaning given above is simpler.] Observe *δῆριος*, Ionic gen.

l. 943. 'Yield: yet the victory grant me willingly;' i. e. give way, but with good grace. For *μέντοι γε*, cf. Dem. Phil. 1. § 49 *οὐ μέντοι γε μὰ Δία προαιρεῖσθαι*, 'not however by Zeus that his intention is.' The line seems to have no caesura; but *μέντοι* is perhaps slightly felt to be a divisible word, being a compound of two particles.

l. 944. *ὑπαί* . . *λύοι*, tmesis, 450.

l. 945. 'These sandals, slaves beneath my feet' (*Mors.*) renders the expression very aptly. For *πρό-δουλος*, cf. *ἀντί* and its use in comp., see 406. Aesch. uses *ἀντιδουλος* Frag. 180.

l. 946. The reading of Fa. *σὺν ταῖσδε* (i. e. *ἀρβύλαις*) makes good sense, but the *μή* is then too late in the sentence, since it means 'lest;' with *καὶ τοῖσδε*, *μή* is 'not,' and its position natural.

*ἀλουργές* (used as subst. from adj. *ἀλουργής*, 'sea-wrought,' i. e. made from sea-purple), 'sea-purple cloths.'

l. 948. MSS. *σωματοφθορεῖν*, corrupt; best reading is *δωματοφθορεῖν* (Schütz, Herm., Eng., Schn.), 'to waste the house's wealth,' which she answers 961.

l. 950. *τούτων*, gen. of reference, lit. 'as regards these things.' 'Thus much for this.' Cf. *τοῦ κασιγνήτου τί φής*; Soph. El. 317.

l. 954. *ἐξαιρετον*, the regular word for the choice prizes *taken out* of the booty for kings or heroes: *ἐξαιρετον δῶρημα* Eum. 402, *ἐξείλεθ' αὐτῷ κτήμα* Soph. Tr. 245.

l. 956. 'But since I am subdued, to hearken to thee in this.' *ἀκούειν* consec. or epexegetic inf.

[After 957 Agamemnon's sandals are untied by an attendant while the queen is speaking; she then, probably yet speaking, escorts him slowly

to the central door: after 972 he enters with his train, and she utters her short prayer, 973, 4, then follows him. *Kassandra remains seated and silent in the chariot.*]

1. 959. A fine answer to his scruples: the sea is boundless (*κατασβέσει* 888), we can get more purple; the house is royal and wealthy.

1. 960. 'The juice ever fresh, precious as silver, of plenteous purple,' very Aeschylean accumulated phrase. Schn. quotes Theopompus (150 years later than Aesch.) as saying, 'the sea-purple (among the Kolophonians) fetched its weight in silver.'

1. 961. 'We have a house, to supply store of these things.' No reason to alter *οἶκος* of MSS. to *οἴκοις*. *ἔχειν*, epexegetic. *τῶνδε*, partitive, 'some of.' Cf. Ar. Ach. 184 *ἐννελέγοντο τῶν λίθων*, 'they began to collect stones.' [Perhaps *ἅλῃς* for *ἀναξ* (Karst.) is right.]

1. 964. *προῦνεχθέντος*, 'had it been ordered,' to me... when devising, etc., gen. abs. conditional.

1. 965. MSS. *μηχανωμένης*; possible Greek ('when I was devising'), but very unlikely with the other fem. genitives. The dative is the best correction, governed by *προῦνεχθέντος*. *κόμιστρα*, 'price for thy return.' Lit. 'for bringing thee back,' *κομίζω*.

1. 966. *ἔκετ'*, gnomic aor.

1. 967. *σκιάων σεπίρου κυνός*, 'shadow against the Scorching Hound,' loose use of the gen.

*σεπίρου κυνός*: *Seirios* was 'the dog of Orion,' constellation near Orion (the brightest star usually being called *Seirios*): it rose about mid-July, the hot, unhealthy time of year. Hence Hom. Il. 22. 30 says of it *κακὸν δέ τε σῆμα τέτυκται*. Cf. Verg. G. 4. 285 '*rapidus torrens Sirius Indos*.'

11. 968-72. An expansion of two metaphors: 'the return of the master brings as it were warmth in winter and coolness in summer.'

1. 972. *τελείου*, 'the rightful lord,' the man whose will is law in the house, who has the *τέλος* or final authority. This suggests to her *τέλειος Ζεύς*, in a different sense, 'Zeus the fulfiller.'

[*Agamemnon goes in: she stops and prays with lifted hands.*]

1. 974. *τῶνπερ*, Epic for *ἁνπερ*.

[*Klytaemnestra goes in, and the Third Scene ends. The Chorus sing the Third Stasimon.*]

*Strophe 1* (975-86). 'Whence come these obstinate forebodings? My heart is fearful. It is long since they sailed to Troy.' (*Ant.* 987-1000). 'I have seen them safe-returned; yet still within comes misgiving; may it be false!'

*Strophe 2* (1001-17). 'In health, disease is near; in prosperity, a hidden reef. But wealth may be saved by timely sacrifice; famine averted by timely harvest.'

*Ant.* 2 (1018-34). 'Only blood once spilt no charm can recall; for did Zeus not slay Asklepios? But for the uncertainty of the future I should have poured out these misgivings; as it is, I hide them in gloomy silence.'

1. 976. Several edd. prefer *δείγμα* (Fl.), construing 'a spectre,' but there is no evidence of any such meaning, and *δείμα* (Fa.) is more impressive and natural. *προστατήριον*, 'stationed before,' describes the *haunting* of the misgiving, 'why flits thus obstinately this fear, haunting my heart prophetic?'

1. 979. Notice the imaginative language: the fear is now called 'a prophetic song.'

1. 980. *οὐδ' ἀποπτύσαι* is much the easiest reading, and being a MS. reading, should be preferred to conjecture *ἀποπτύσαν*. 'Nor to spurn it away like dark dreams does ready confidence sit at my heart's dear throne;' the inf. depending on *θάρος*.

1. 983. The reading of MS. Farnese, with alteration of *ξυνεμβόλοις* (unknown word) to *ξυνεμβολαῖς*, will construe: 'Time has grown old since the cables were fastened (on the fastenings of the cables) of the vessel on the sand.' But there is probably some corruption: *ἐπί* is odd, so is *συνεμβολαῖς*, so is *ἀκάτας* sing.

1. 990. The 'dirge,' or *θρήνος*, was sung with only flute, no lyre. So Eum. 331 *ἔμνος ἐξ Ἐρινύων ἀφόρμικτος*.

1. 992. *τὸ πᾶν*, see Appendix II.

1. 995. 'Not vainly bodes my thought, my heart beating with eddies against my true prophetic breast' (or *τελεσφόροις δίναις*, 'with eddies of fulfilment').

*σπλάγχνα* and *κῆαρ* are in apposition. The sense is, 'my boding heart is not vain; my bosom's foresight is true, and will be fulfilled.'

1. 998. I have taken Kennedy's *τοιαῦτ'* for the corrupt *τοι* of Farnese MS. as nearer than Hermann's *τὸ πᾶν*. The Fl. MS. has no metre. The meaning then is, 'But I pray that such things may turn out lies, far from my expectation, and be not accomplished.'

1. 1001. MSS. are corrupt here: see notes on text. The metre is probably *uu*- three times repeated: and I have taken Paley's *μάλα γέ τοι | τὸ μεγάλας | ὑγιείας* (only spelling this last word as usual, and supposing -ει- short with Klausen, compare *δείλαιος*, *γεραῖός*, *τοῖούτος*, etc., see 1256). The sense is, 'Of lusty health at least the bounds are insatiable,' i. e. no man is ever satisfied with the greatest prosperity: (*forebodings are therefore just*) 'for disease the neighbour presses hard behind the wall.' The words in italics show the connection.

1. 1005. Perhaps a line omitted here, see 1022.

1. 1006. *ἔπαισεν*, gnomic aorist, 'strikes oftentimes a hidden reef;' so *ἔδω*, *ἐπόντισε* below.

l. 1008. 'And of gathered wealth if fear casts out a part with well-measured throw,—the whole house doth not founder, with sorrow overladen, nor does it sink the hull.' The construction is broken: *δίκνος βαλόν* is nom. pendens, and the subject is changed. It is true (as K. observes) that *δίκνω* would set the construction right ('the house if it cast out in fear'). But it is more in Aeschylus' manner to personify fear; and the anacoluthon is of a natural kind. Cf. Soph. O. C. 1150 *λόγος δ' ὅς ἐμπέπτωκε . . συμβαλοῦ γνώμην*, 'the tale that has reached my ears, advise me.'

*πρὸ χρημάτων* may go together, 'part to save the wealth,' i. e. part to save the whole; but it is better to take *προ . . βαλόν* as tmesis. (Perhaps indeed Enger's *πρὸ μὲν τι* is right.)

l. 1015. 'A bounteous gift of plenty from Zeus,' etc. The adjectives accumulated, as often. The connection is abrupt: perhaps *τοῖ* is corrupt.

l. 1018. Sense: (a labouring boat may be saved, a famine averted,) 'but blood once shed is irrevocable.' The terrible words *τὸ δ' ἐπὶ γὰν*, etc., at once raise the thought of the bloody past of the Pelopidae, of the slaughter of Iphigeneia not yet avenged,—and of the coming vengeance which the chorus suspect and would fain avert.

ll. 1022-24. I have taken Hartung's *ἀπέπαυσεν* as the nearest to the MSS. *αὐτ' ἔπαυσε*, and read it as a question. 'And did not Zeus slay, for a warning, him that was skilled to bring back from the dead?' Zeus killed Asklepios, son of Apollo, the healer, with lightning for bringing the dead to life. But these lines do not correspond to the strophe; and either a line is (as I have marked it) there omitted, or here is something superfluous. If the latter, Hermann's reading *Ζεὺς δὲ τὸν ὀρθοδαῆ τῶν φθιμένων ἀνάγειν ἔπαυσεν* (omitting *αὐτε, οὐδέ* and *ἐπ' εὐλαβείᾳ*) is as likely as any other; but it is perhaps best to leave it.

l. 1025. 'But were it not that one lot by divine decree hinders another from winning overmuch, my heart, outstripping my tongue, had poured out these bodings;' as it is, I brood in secret. I. e. I take refuge in the thought that sometimes fate interferes with fate (and so there may be an unseen counter-fate to check the evil destiny of Agamemnon's house).

l. 1026. *ἐκ θεῶν* with *εἶργε*, really repeating more precisely the notion of *τεταγμένα*. The above is substantially Prof. Goodwin's rendering, and it is the clearest sense proposed for these difficult lines.

l. 1031. 'In grief of soul without a hope to unravel aught profitable 'mid the stirrings of my heart.' *πολυπύω* is a Homeric metaphor for 'contrive,' 'accomplish,' lit. to 'wind off wool.' The rapid change of metaphor, from 'winding wool,' to 'stirring fire,' is not unlike the poet, see 786.



NOTES. LINES 1008-1053.

[ll. 1035-1071. SCENE IV. (first part), *Klytaemnestra comes out and sees Cassandra still seated in the chariot. She speaks to her imperiously.*

'Go within, and take your lot humbly; our royal house will treat you more kindly than others might.' Then, as she gets no answer, she becomes more impatient, and finally departs.]

l. 1036. ἀμηνίως, 'graciously;' with cold scorn Klytaemnestra treats the fate of Cassandra as a favour of the gods.

l. 1037. 'A partner in the lustral bowl;' i.e. a member of the household; for all, even slaves, shared in the household religious rites.

l. 1038. κτησίον βωμοῦ, 'the altar of Zeus Ktesios,' or guardian of wealth, which included slaves.

l. 1041. I have kept the reading of Fa. But perhaps the right reading is Fl. emended thus: δουλίας μάξης βίον, 'the life of slavish fare.' Blomf.

l. 1042. δ' οὖν, coming to practical conclusion, 'be that as it may,' 'anyhow.' Cf. 676. 'Should this hard lot oppress one,' the opt. generalising the statement by removing it from this case. But the Fam. reading ἐπιρρέπει may be right.

l. 1044. ἤμησαν καλῶς, 'have reaped good harvest,' i.e. got rich. The general sense is 'old-established wealthy houses are kinder to slaves than *nouveaux riches*.' It suits Klytaemnestra's royal pride to say so: but the remark savours more of democratic Athens, with her commercial wealth, than the heroic times.

l. 1046. I.e. 'thou hearest how we are wont to deal with slaves.'

l. 1047. λέγουσα παύεται, 'she has spoken.' The chorus can only call Klytaemnestra's speech 'clear,' σαφῆ; they feel its cold cruelty.

l. 1048. 'Thou art caught within the toils of fate: obey if thou canst, but perhaps thou wilt not.' (ἀλοῦσα, great improvement on MSS. ἀν οὔσα; ἀν is not wanted in advance, the sentence being only formally conditional.)

πείθοι' ἀν εἰ πείθοιο is the mildest way possible of advising; lit. it is 'thou would'st hearken if thou would'st.' So 1394 χαίροιτ' ἀν εἰ χαίροιτ', 'joy if ye will.' The ἀν is carried on to ἀπειθοίης; so Soph. O. T. 937 ἤδοιο μέν, πῶς δ' οὐκ ἀν; ἀσχάλλοις δ' ἴσως. So also Ar. Eq. 1054.

l. 1050. The 'swallow' was a recognised simile in Greek for 'foreign speech;' the non-Hellenic languages they despised, and compared to the twittering of birds. So Ar. Ran. 681, when the poet satirises Kleophon for his foreign birth, he says, 'on his lips screeches *θηρία χελιδόν*.' So Av. 1681.

l. 1052. 'My words must reach her mind and so prevail.'

l. 1053. τὰ λῦστα τῶν παρεστώτων, 'the best as things are.' The chorus are sympathetic, but see the hopelessness of resistance. They treat Cassandra simply as a dazed captive, too timid to move or speak.

It makes all the more startling the effect of her possessed cries and prophetic visions when she does speak.

l. 1055. MSS. *θυραῖαν τήνδ'*, which is no sense. *θυραῖαν τῇδε* (D.) is no use, for the constr. *σχολῇ ἐμοὶ τρίβειν θυραῖαν*, possible in itself, is impossible if *θυραῖαν* comes first. Read *θυραῖα τῇδ'*, 'I have no time to loiter here without.' (Some suppose *τήνδε* = *τήνδε τὴν τριβήν*, after *τρίβειν*: sufficiently improbable.)

l. 1056. *τὰ μὲν . . μῆλα*, article separated from subst., really a usage from Epic poetry, where the article is still a demonstrative or pronoun: 'they, the sheep.' Cp. *τὰ δ' ἐπ' ἔχετο κῆλα θεοῖο* Il. i. 383, 'they came flying, (the) shafts of the god.' So here, 'they stand already by the central hearth, the sheep ready for the fiery sacrifice.' The 'central hearth' was the altar of the Ζεὺς ἐρκεῖος, or 'god of the household enclosure,' the representative family deity: *Ζηνὸς ἐρκεῖου* (Soph. Antig. 487) means 'the family.' Observe the loose local gen. *ἐστίας μεσομφάλου*, vaguely indicating the *region*, again an epic usage, e.g. Il. 9. 219 *ἴξεν τοίχου τοῦ ἑτέριοιο*, Od. i. 23 *ἐσχατοὶ ἀνδρῶν, οἱ μὲν δυσομένον Ἰπέριονος*, *ib.* 12. 27 *ἢ ἄλλος ἢ ἐπὶ γῆς*.

l. 1058. *ἐλπίσασι*, sc. *ἡμῖν*, 'for ne'er we hoped,' etc. There is however something to be said for K.'s reading *ἡμῖν* for *ἡδῃ*: *ἐλπίσασι* is harsh with no preceding dative.

l. 1061. *σὺ δ' ἀντὶ φωνῆς φράζε καρβάνφ χειρί*, 'then show me with barbarous hand instead of voice;' the apparent stupidity of such a suggestion is removed on the stage by Klytaemnestra's meaning gestures. Notice *δέ* superfluous in apodosis: an Epic use.

l. 1064. *κακῶν κλύει φρενῶν*, 'obeys her foolish thoughts.'

l. 1067. 'Foam out her spirit in blood,' splendidly continuing the metaphor (begun in *χαλινόν*) of a wild colt.

l. 1068. 'I will not waste more words and be thus scorned.'

[*She goes out resentfully.*]

l. 1071. *καίνισον ζυγόν*, 'handsel thy yoke,' i.e. 'submit.'

[SCENE IV. (second part), ll. 1072-1177. *Kassandra steps out of the chariot and advances to the front of the stage.*]

In this astonishing scene Aeschylus seems to have touched the limit of what speech can do to excite pity and terror. The cries come forth to Apollo, repeated louder and more wildly as the inspiration grows upon her; she smells the 'rust of murder on the walls' of the bloody house to which she comes a prisoner, and visions rise, first of the past wickedness, then of the present; and lastly she bewails, in songs of 'searching and melting beauty,' her own piteous fate. The chorus sustain the part of the Argive citizen, sympathetic and horror-struck, and finally bewildered and overpowered by her clearer and clearer prophecies of the bloody deeds that are imminent.

1. 1072. 'Woe, woe, alas! O Earth! O Apollo, Apollo!' She is looking no doubt at the god's image.

πόποι is simply an interjection like *παπαῖ, τοτοῖ*, etc.; the old scholiastic note which translated it 'gods' is now generally rejected.

δα is Doric form of γὰ or γῆ.

1. 1074. ὀτοτύω, like φεύω 1308, αἰώω, οἰμώω, etc., is a verb formed from an interjection.

Δοξίας, name of Apollo, as the 'utterer' of oracles, cf. Eum. 19 Διὸς προφήτης ἐστὶ Δοξίας πατὴρ.

1. 1075. 'He is not one to need a mourner' (lit. *to have*). Apollo is the god of light (φοῖβος) and joy and healing (παιῶν), and has nothing to do with groans and laments, which belong to the Chthonian gods, Hades, and the Furies, etc.

1. 1079. προσήκοντ' (observe the *personal* construction, like δικάους εἰμι, see 16), 'it befits him not to be at hand in lamentation.'

1. 1081. ἀγυιάτης, collat. form of ἀγυιεύς, 'god of the ways,' a title of Apollo as presiding over the out-door life. There was no doubt a statue in front of the palace, cf. 1072.

ἀπόλλων, 'my destroyer,' see note on 687. Apollo had loved her, and been deceived, and in revenge he made all disbelieve her. See 1203 sqq.

1. 1082. οὐ μόλις, lit. 'not scantily,' i. e. 'utterly.'

1. 1084. δουλίᾳ περ ἐν φρενί, 'even in a slave's heart,' the strict meaning of περ.

1. 1091. Read κακὰ καὶ ἀρτάνας, as the Farnese MS. has it (only καὶ ἀρτ. for κάρτ.) instead of the nom. as the other MSS. read it; for it is far better to construe συνίστορα transitive; it is the *house* which σύννοιδε, not the *crimes*; and the nom. of the MSS. is due to not seeing this. For adj. governing acc. cp. θυμοβόρου φρένα 103. 'Nay, a god-accursed house, that knoweth many a murder of kindred, and many a strangling; a human slaughter-house, a dripping floor.' αὐτοφόνᾳ: for αὐτός, used in compounds for describing murder of kin, compare Soph. Antig. 57, 1175; Theb. 805; inf. 1573.

'φαντήριος cannot be passive,' says Paley, objecting to the MS. reading; but it need not be passive; it means 'a dripping' floor, not 'a besprinkled floor.' Perhaps πέδου βαντ.' 'splashing the floor.' (Karst.)

1. 1096. She sees a vision of the children of Thyestes (father of Aegisthos) whom his brother Atreus (father of Agamemnon) served up to him at a banquet. The quarrel is mentioned below (1583).

κλαιόμενα σφαγὰς, 'bewailing their own slaughter.'

11. 1098-9. The MSS. mostly read ἤμεν at the beginning of both lines, though M. (acc. Hermann) has ἡ μὴν in 1098. This will construe: 'Verily we had heard thy prophetic fame, but we seek no

prophets;' which is very dull sense, and very bad sound. I believe with Weil and Enger that ἤμεν has been erroneously repeated, and has ousted τούτων from the second line. The sense is then 'we had heard (ἤμεν πεπυσμένοι) thy prophetic fame; but of these things we seek no prophets;' i.e. it does not require inspiration to tell *past* evils. Cassandra's vision immediately leaps forward to the future. [If the Med. really reads ἡ μὴν in 1098, it is a correction to avoid ἤμεν twice; but in Merkel's facsimile edition it is given in both lines as ἤμεν.]

l. 1100. A new vision comes on, of the murder of Agamemnon in his bath, by means of a cloak thrown round him and two blows of a dagger. The murder does not happen till 1343; this is the prophetic foresight.

μήδετα, 'she plots,' Klytaemnestra of course; the audience understand, but not the chorus.

l. 1109. πῶς φράσω τέλος; the sentence ought to end with κτενεῖς; but it is broken, and these words substituted.

l. 1111. ὀρέγματα, this neat emendation is no doubt right: the acc. is cognate. Lit. 'hand after hand reaches forth a-stretch;' i.e. blow on blow comes. (The MSS. ποτείνει ὀρεγομένα will construe 'stretches, reaching forth;' but ποτείνει is never intrans.)

l. 1112. The prophecy is clearer; but it has only changed from 'riddles' without a clue (the vision of line 1096) to a 'dim prophecy' with details but no names (the vision of 1100); so they 'do not yet understand.'

l. 1113. ἐπαργέμοις, '-dim;' properly of a *white* film over (ἐπ'.. ἀργ..) the eye, probably cataract.

l. 1115. 'A net of Death' is a fine name for the cloak which made him helpless. 'But *she* is the snare, who shares his bed, who shares the deed of blood.'

συναίτια, 'sharing the guilt' with the δίκτυον; of Aegisthos there is no thought yet. [Notice the rare hiatus τι 'Αιδου. So Soph. Trach. 1203.]

l. 1117. στάσις, some comm. (Schn., Pal., K.) construe 'a troop,' and suppose it to mean the Furies, alleging ποίαν Ἐρινύν as confirmatory. It is true that Aesch. does use στάσις in this sense, but always with something to make it clear, as τῇδε στάσει Cho. 114, στάσις ἀμά ('our company') Eum. 311, στάσις πάγκοινος ἄδε Cho. 458. To use στάσις absolutely, without article or defining gen., for the 'band of Furies' would be very harsh.

It is better (with Eng., Kl., D.) to take it as meaning 'Strife' personified; this is quite as Aeschylean a usage (Pr. 200, 1088; Pers. 188, 715, 738; Eum. 977) and the answer ποίαν Ἐρινύν quite as appropriate; indeed, being singular, more so. 'Let Strife, insatiable against the Race, raise cry of triumph o'er the stoning-sacrifice.'

NOTES. LINES 1100-1137.

Still an obscure passage. If *λευσίμων* is right, Cassandra must mean: 'Let the people arise and stone the accursed murderers; let that "Strife" which besets the bloodstained family sing triumph over her death.' But if so we must suppose that the prophetess' vision as yet only foresees Agamemnon's death, not Klytaemnestra's, who died by Orestes' hand; this is reserved for a later vision, 1280. (*λεύσιμος* cannot mean 'deserving stoning,' as Pal., K., L.S., etc.)

l. 1120. *φαιδρύνει*, 'cheers.'

l. 1121. A very difficult and corrupt passage. It is best to take Dindorf's *καίρια* for the varied unintelligibilities of the MSS. Translate: 'To my heart has run the blood-drop saffron-hued (i.e. pale with terror) which at the last hour (lit. *at the time appointed, the mortal moment*) falls and ends with the beams of setting life;' i.e. 'my blood is pale, like a man fainting and failing at the point of death.' The general sense is plain: the chorus are in sudden and deep alarm.

l. 1125. The murder now comes upon her in a vision of unspeakable power and terror. 'Behold, behold! Keep off from his mate the bull! in the robe she has caught him, and smites with the treacherous thrust of her black horn!' lit. 'with blackhorned device.'

l. 1127. *μελαγκέρω*, though apparently not the reading of any MS. (for Prof. Goodwin, who has reexamined M., asserts that the original reading was *μελάγκερον* as in most of the others), is yet plainly right; both the accusative alone and the dative *μηχανήματι* alone would be very harsh, while *μελαγκέρω μηχανήματι* is thoroughly Aeschylean.

l. 1128. *κύτος* and *λέβης*, the 'vessel' and 'cauldron' are varied words for the bath. *κύτει*, for metre's sake, for MSS. *τεύχει*. *τύπτει* does not answer to *φόνου* of strophe; and one is possibly corrupt.

l. 1130. The chorus are more and more uneasy; and in their restlessness break out into complaint that prophecy is always terrifying men, and bringing evil. The same complaint was made by Ahab (1 Kings 22. 8), and by Agamemnon of Kalchas (Il. 1. 108).

l. 1133. Hermann alters *στέλλεται* and *θεσπιφδόν* into *τέλλεται* and *θεσπιφδοί*, both needlessly. *στέλλεται*, 'is sent forth,' has more meaning than *τέλλεται*, 'comes:' and the phrase 'by woes the wordy arts bring men prophetic terror to learn' is quite Aeschylean. The scornful phrase for prophecy, *πολυπεῖς τέχναι*, suits their present resentment born of fear.

l. 1137. *θοῶ*... *ἐπεγχεῖσα* is the reading of all the MSS., which is a syllable too much. Herm. reads *θοεῖς*... *ἐπεγχεῖς*, 'thou speakest of my woe, mingling it with his;' and most edd. follow him. But the difficulty is that the chorus had not alluded to Cassandra. The best correction is *ἐπεγχαίαι*, given by Prof. Campbell (which had also oc-

curred independently to me). It is exegetical infinitive: 'for my own woe I bewail, to mingle it with his.'

l. 1138. ἤγαγες (so MSS., no alteration needed), a sudden appeal to Apollo, as in 1087.

l. 1141. αὐτὰς for σεαυτῆς, not uncommon in poetry, as e.g. 1297.

l. 1142. νόμον ἀνομον, 'a wild tuneless measure.' ξουθός is an obscure word, but its commonest application is to the nightingale, as here; and such phrases as ξουθοὶ ἀνεμοί, ξουθὰ λαλῶν, seem to point to its meaning 'clear-voiced.'

l. 1145. Ἴτυς son of Philomela and Tereus; the mother slew him and served him up to his father, in rage at finding a rival in her sister Prokne. The two sisters then fled from Tereus' wrath, and were changed into birds. Philomela as the nightingale never ceases to lament Itys. (Others change the names Prokne and Philomela, making the former mother of Itys.)

ἀμφιθαλή κακοῖς βίον, 'all her life rich only in sorrow;' a beautiful expression. The acc. is best taken as acc. of duration.

l. 1147. περιβάλων γάρ, Blomfield's satisfactory correction. 'For the gods set round her a feathery form, and a sweet life, without tears.' The difficulty is, how can the sorrow-laden nightingale be said to have 'a sweet life without tears?' The most ingenious solution is to take (with Eng.) κλαυμάτων ἄτερ with περιβάλων, 'they changed her without pain, for *me* remains the sharp sword.' And this is at first sight tempting. But the order is strained and really the same difficulty remains with γλυκύν. The truth no doubt is this: that the chorus say, 'You are like the nightingale, a ceaseless singer of sad song;' to which beautiful comparison Cassandra replies in effect: 'Yes, but how unlike in fate; her song is plaintive, but she has no real sorrow; she flees on free wings and has nought to mar her sweet life; I am doomed to a cruel death.'

l. 1150. 'Whence hast thou these inspired throes of vain grief, and framest in song these terrors with ill-omened cry, and likewise with loud-voiced measures?' ὀρθοὶ νόμοι are the sustained lyric songs as opposed to the δύσφατος κλαγγή or meaningless cries which accompany them.

l. 1155. 'Whence the bounds of thy prophetic path, boding but ill?' i.e. who guides you on the path of prophecy? The answer to this comes really 1202.

l. 1159. ἤνυτόμαν τροφαῖς, 'I thrived with nurture.'

l. 1163. MSS. read νεογνὸς ἀνθρώπων μάθοι. The sense is plain: 'a new born child could understand;' and doubtless the first syllable of ἀνθρώπων contains the necessary particle ἀν. I have taken Karsten's guess in default of better.

NOTES. LINES 1138-1178.

1. 1164. δάκε for δήγματι (H.) to suit antistr.; though, as δήγματι makes a proper dochmiac, it may be right.

1. 1165. θρενύμενας, i. e. σοῦ, 'when thou wailest aloud o'er thy bitter woe.' The dialectic form θρενύμενας for θρεομένης is Enger's reading to suit θανατήφορα of the antistrophe.

θραύματ' is the best supported reading, lit. 'shatterings' for me to hear; i. e. 'it breaks my heart to hear.' Many adopt θαύματ' the reading of Fa., but it seems too weak a word for such a climax, and the other is not too bold for Aeschylus.

1. 1170. 'They brought no cure to save the city from suffering as indeed she suffers.'

ἄκος, a kind of cogn. after ἐπηρέεσαν: what is now called 'internal' accusative, lit. 'they aided no cure;' a perfectly natural use.

1. 1172. MSS. θερμόνους τάχ' ἐμπέδω. H. reads θερμόν οὖς τάχ' ἐν πέδω, 'shall lay on the ground a hot ear'! Others try and construe it as it stands 'I thus passionate shall cast myself on the earth' where the adj. is awkward, the sense unsatisfactory, and βαλῶ hardly possible. Various other suggestions have been made, but I believe the best is the one given in the text, which I owe to my friend Mr. T. Miller (writing θερμὴν for θερμόν), 'and shall not I let fall a hot drop on the ground.' στάξ does not occur for 'a drop,' but στάγες does, Ap. Rh. 4. 626, which may very likely therefore be an old word, an earlier form of σταγόν. Schneid. had already suggested it, only he read θερμόχουον. The word is formed straight from the verb-stem, like βάξ (βαγ-) and πτάξ (πτακ-). Mr. Munro, who has discussed this passage [Phil. Journ. xi.], has pointed out that the dictionaries are probably wrong in giving θερμός as ever of two terminations: in that case we should read θερμὴν, which I have accordingly done.

The chorus have expressed sympathy with Cassandra, and surprise and emotion at her wild laments, and she replies: 'Alas for our city's ruin! alas for all the sacrifices of my father! they could not aid the city: she lies low: *and shall not my blood be shed?*' [I formerly took it 'and shall not I weep?' and the chorus' remarks on her wailing μυνυρά θρεομένης, 1165, and μελίξειν πάθη γοερά, 1176, make this at least possible: but I rather incline to Mr. Munro's view that 'shall not I die?' makes better sense on the whole.]

1. 1175. τίθησι μελίξειν, 'moves thee to sing,' 'makes thee to sing,' thy piteous deadly woes.

[ll. 1178-1330. SCENE IV. (third part). Cassandra's fit of wild visions is past, and she speaks of the past more calmly (1178-1200); then tells the chorus of how Apollo's wrath fell on her (1198-1214); then rising with new inspiration darkly and terribly announces the murder of the king (1215-1255). Next follows a marvellous speech, in

which she foresees her own death, and strips off her crown; and prophesies the vengeance of Orestes (1256-1294). She then goes sadly into the house of blood.]

l. 1178. καὶ μὴν, 'and now;' a new mood and resolve have come. Observe how richly and boldly the metaphors and similes come; a bride, a strong wind, a hound, a chorus, a revel-rout.

l. 1180. 'But clear and fresh it shall come blowing toward the sunrise, to dash wave-like to the light a woe far greater than mine.' λαμπρὸς is hard to render; the Greeks called a *strong* wind 'bright;' so here in any other language two words are required, one to be antithesis to ἐκ καλυμμάτων, the other to suit the new metaphor of wind. Cp. λαμπρὸς καὶ μέγας καθιείς Ar. Eq. 430 λαμπρὸς ἄνεμος Hdt. 2. 96.

l. 1184. συνδρόμῳ best with βυηλατούσῃ, 'close following I scent out the trail.'

l. 1187. σύμφθογγος οὐκ εὐφώνος, 'of harshest harmony,' an oxymoron suggested by χορὸς; she means the Furies. οὐ γὰρ εὖ λέγει, a meiosis, 'for its words are not well.'

l. 1188. καὶ μὴν, graphic, she sees it almost; 'and lo!' (ὥς for ὥστε).

l. 1190. 'A revel-rout of sister Furies, that none can cast out!' Another bold metaphor.

l. 1192. 'The primal curse' is the first blood-shedding of the bloody race; see Introduction, p. xii.

l. 1193. δυσμενείς can be nom. or acc., but it is better nom., being (as Eng. and Schn. observe) a grim allusion to their name εὐμενίδες. 'And in turn they loathe the brother's bed (Thyestes' adultery with Aerope), pitiless to him who defiled it.'

l. 1195. 'A babbler, knocking at doors,' a vivid vernacular phrase for 'a lying impostor' such as she was considered, she tells us.

l. 1197. H. reads τὸ μὴ εἰδέναι λόγῳ, 'that not by hearsay do I know;' i.e. 'that I know well.' So Pal., K., and others. And Prof. Goodwin points out that Ven. has this reading. But the words cannot mean that, without any pronoun to mark the change of subject; as they stand they must mean 'swear that you do not know.' It is better to fall back on the best supported reading τὸ μ' εἰδέναι, and take λόγῳ παλαιάς together (so D., Well.); the rhythm is also in favour of it: 'bear witness to me with an oath, that I know the sins of this house, old in story.' It really is nothing against this int. that λόγῳ παλαιά occurs in Soph. O. T. (1395), where they do *not* go together.

l. 1198. 'And how could the noble compact of an oath become a cure?' i.e. what good would an oath do? I read παίωνιος as one MS. has it, but it is quite possible the poet wrote παιώνιον, the neuter, though not grammatically right, being due to πῆγμα .. παγέν.



l. 1201. κυρεῖν λέγουσαν, 'tell aright of.' So λέγων κυρήσεις Supp. 587: and τυγχάνω 1232.

l. 1205. ἀβρύνεται, 'grows over nice.' Swan.

l. 1206. παλαιστής, 'a suitor,' lit. 'a wrestler,' one of Aesch.'s picturesque and bold words.

l. 1207. 'Came ye to rite of union in due course?' [νόμφ is however odd: perhaps γάμφ, Schöm. or δμοῦ, Butl.]

l. 1211. ἀνατος, certain emendation of Canter for the natural MS. corruption ἀνακτος. κότφ (instead of the more usual gen. after such adj.), to avoid the awkward sound of two genitives together.

l. 1212. ὥς, 'since,' 'after that.'

l. 1214. γε μὲν δὴ, 661.

l. 1215. The frenzy comes upon her again 'whirling and distracting' (στροβεί ταρασσών), as she says.

l. 1216. The MSS. read ἐφημένους at the end, which has clearly come from the next line, displacing the word, which is therefore irrecoverable. Hermann's δυσφροίμοις is very ingenious, as it supplies a reason for the gap (filled with ἐφημένους), viz. that δυσφροίμοις was lost through resemblance to φροίμοις. But it remains a conjecture.

l. 1217. The vision of Thyestes' children rises again.

l. 1219. ὥσπερ εἰ with the whole sentence, 'Children they seem, slaughtered by their own kin.'

l. 1222. πρέπουσ' ἔχοντες, 'I see them hold;' compare, for this use of πρέπω, 241, 389.

l. 1224. The 'recreant lion wallowing in the couch' is of course Aegisthos. She calls him below 'a wolf,' 1259.

l. 1225. 'Guarding the house, ah, me! for my lord returned;' the δεσπότη is dative after οἰκουρόν, as the order requires; and the force consists in the irony of the word οἰκουρός, which also prompts the cry οἶμοι. Aegisthos 'watched the house,' strangely indeed; dishonouring the queen and plotting with her the murder of the king.

l. 1226. φέρειν γάρ, etc. is suggested by δεσπότη ἐμφ.

l. 1228. 'Knows not what things the tongue of the vile she-hound, with long-drawn smiling welcome . . . shall accomplish by evil fate.' This is the best sense that can be made out of the text as it stands; but οἶα is a long way off from its verb, and φαιδρόνους is a very strange adjective, and the use of adj. for adv. is harsh with ἐκτείνασα: and we can scarcely resist the conviction that the text is corrupt. On the whole Madvig's alteration (following Tyrwhitt) is the most probable, and is certainly highly ingenious; he reads:

οὐκ οἶδεν οἶα γλῶσσα μισητῆς κυνὸς  
 λείψασα κάτείνασα φαιδρὸν οὖς, δίκη  
 ἄτης λαθραίου, δέχεται κακῇ τύχῃ,

... 'knows not what a tongue of the vile she-hound has licked (his hand) and stretched out a joyful ear, and now like a stealthy curse shall bite him by evil chance.' The violent stretches of language making the tongue (instead of the dog) stretch out a joyful ear and bite, are hardly too strong for Aeschylus. Still they are strong, and *δήξεται* for *τεύξεται* is a considerable alteration; so I have not ventured to put the conjecture into the text. [See Appendix III.]

l. 1231. MSS. give *τοιάδε τολμᾷ* or *τοιαῦτα*. The reading in the text is the best, as all others leave *θῆλυς* unconnected.

l. 1232. Observe the weak *ἔστιν* in strong place. See on 14. *καλοῦσα τύχοιμ' ἄν*, 'call aright;' cp. 1201.

l. 1233. *ἀμφίσβαιναν*, 'a dragon,' or 'basilisk;' it is a fabulous monster that goes either way, perhaps like Sir John Mandeville's snakes with a head at each end.

l. 1235. 'Raging Dam of Death,' a bold imaginative name which it suits the frenzied mood of Cassandra to use. *θύω* is an Epic word, *φρεσὶ θύει* Il. i. 342, *ἐγχεῖ θύει* id. ii. 180. For *Ἄρη* MSS. read *ἄράν*: but *ἄσπονδος* almost requires *Ἄρης*, 'implacable war.' Perhaps Aesch. used the other form *Ἄρην*, which would readily account for the error. *Ἄρης* again 1511, in the sense of family strife.

l. 1236. 'And how she raised a cry of triumph, the murderess, as in the battle's rout, though seeming to rejoice at his safe return.' This clearly refers to her exaggerated and insincere welcome 896 sqq. *δοκεῖ* is present, because it means 'they think,' 'the people think;' the impression was still there.

l. 1239. *ὁμοιον*, 'I care not' (lit. 'it is the same,' *es ist gleich*).

l. 1243. *ξυνήκα*, 'I understood,' it was past a few moments ago. *πέφρικα*, 'I shudder,' the horror still present.

l. 1244. *ἀληθὺς οὐδὲν ἐξηκασμένα*, 'no image but the very truth.'

l. 1245. *ἐκ δρόμου πεσὼν τρέχω*, 'I run out of the track;' i.e. 'I am astray,' as we say. The racecourse supplies the most frequent metaphors in Greek. So of madness, Pr. 883 *ἔξω δὲ δρόμον φέρομαι λύσεως πνεύματι*: and like this, Cho. 1022 *ὥσπερ σὺν ἵπποις ἡνιοστροφῷ δρόμον ἐξωτέρω*.

l. 1247. 'Peace, wretched woman, from such impious words;' lit. 'lull thy mouth to be well omened,' *εὐφήμων* being proleptic. But as silence is the safest way of avoiding ill-omened speech, *εὐφήμει* practically comes to mean 'be silent,' e.g. Ar. Ach. 237; Ran. 352. So *faveat linguis* in Latin.

l. 1248. 'There is no god of healing for this tidings;' *εὐφημία* might help, as long as there was hope of divine aid to avert ill; this case is hopeless.

l. 1249. *εἴπερ ἔσται γ'*, 'if it is to be;' (*πάρεσται* the MS. reading can hardly mean this. The correction is due to Schütz.)

l. 1251. 'Is this woe brought to pass?' ἄχος is quite possible, though ἄγος (Aurat.) is not unlikely.

l. 1252. MSS. give ἡ κάρτ' ἄρ' ἂν παρεσκόπης (with -ει written over). Most edd. read *παρεσκόπεις*, and many alter ἂν to αὖ; Pal., K., rightly retain ἂν and construe, 'You must have missed the purport of my oracles.' This makes good sense, and may be right. Compare *ἤξω ἂν* 933. Hartung however suggests ἡ κάρτα τᾶρα παρεκόπης, 'Surely thou wentest astray from my oracles.' The emendation is very ingenious, being so near the MSS. (TATAP for TAP), and I have adopted it, merely keeping ἂν, which improves the sense. 'Surely thou must have gone far astray from my oracles,' παρακόπτεσθαι meaning 'to be deluded;' lit. 'to be knocked aside from.'

l. 1253. 'The murderer's plot I do not understand;' neither who is to do it, nor how. [Heimsoeth's τοὺς γὰρ τελούντας is possible.]

l. 1254. καὶ μὲν, 'and yet,' as often, e. g. Prom. 981; Soph. Antig. 1054; Eur. Alc. 653. The sense is, 'And yet I know the Greek tongue all too well.' The answer in effect is, 'The oracles are also Greek, but not the easier to understand.'

l. 1256. Cassandra has another seizure of the prophetic fire. Observe ὁλον short. See 1001.

l. 1260. It is best to follow the MSS. here, as Hermann does, only reading ἐνθήσειν with Fa. instead of ἐνθήσει, clearly altered to suit κτενεῖ. κότῳ is a bold metaphor, but there is no need to alter it (with Casaub., D., Eng., etc.) to ποτῶ. 'And like one brewing a drug, she boasts that my recompence too she will mix in her vengeance, whetting her sword against her lord, to pay back blood for that he hath brought me hither.'

l. 1263. ἀντιτίσασθαι, consec. or expegetical inf. 'so as to.'

l. 1267. Hermann's emendation ἐγὼ δ' ἄμ' ἔσομαι, 'and I shall follow soon,' makes good sense: but the correction in the text makes even better, and is nearer the MSS. (ONTAΓAΘΩ for ONTAΘΩ), 'Go to destruction: and as ye fall, thus will I avenge myself on you' (*as she speaks she throws down the staff and crown and tramples on them*). This correction is given by Mr. A. W. Verrall, in his *Medea*, 1881. [Appendix IV.]

l. 1268. 'Enrich another with woe instead of me,' a forcible oxymoron. (So reading δτης with H. for δτην, 'another curse,' not a very appropriate expression.)

l. 1270. The MSS. reading can be construed, if with H., Eng., Schn., etc., we read μέγα for μερά, thus: 'and having looked down on me, even in these robes scouted utterly, by friends turned foes, consenting, yet in error:—[then the parenthesis describing *how* they mocked her]—and now the seer having ruined me, the prophetess has brought me,' etc. We find μερά for μέγα also in MSS. Choeph. 37.

φίλων ὅπ' ἐχθρῶν, by her people, who ought to have been friends, but scorned her; in the old days before the capture.

οὐ διχορρόπως μάτην, they all agreed to scout her, and they were all wrong. After the parenthesis the sense is taken up again, and the deferred verb ἀπήγαγεν at last comes. The above is substantially Enger's int. and it is the best that can be got without more alteration.

1. 1273. 'And like a wandering cheat I bore hard names, beggar, and wretch, and starveling.' Others include φοιτάς among the nick-names; but the line does not run so well.

1. 1275. ἐκπράξας, 'having destroyed, ruined.' Like κεραυνὸς ἐξέπραξε Soph. O. C. 1659, πῶς καὶ νῦν ἐξεπράξατ'; Eur. Hec. 515. [The other sense given, 'having made me,' is weaker.]

1. 1277. ἐπέξηνον, 'a block' for beheading. So in Ar. Ach. 318.

1. 1278. κοπέισης, 'when I am struck.' The gen. abs. is always possible, and there is no need for κοπέισθ or κοπεῖσαν. (Schütz's θερμόν is neat, and may be right.)

1. 1279. οὐ μὴν .. γε (like οὐ μέντοι .. γε), 'not however;' Soph. O. T. 810 οὐ μὴν ἴσην γ' ἔτισεν. τεθνήξομεν, fut. formed from τέθνηκα, like ἐσθήξω, 'not unregarded shall I be in death.'

1. 1283. κάτεισιν, in its strict sense, 'shall come back' from exile.

1. 1284. Restored by Hermann to its right place, from being after 1290, where it made no sense.

1. 1285. 'That his sire's fallen corse shall bring him home,' but a harsh phrase. Schöm. proposes πράξειν, 'that he shall exact vengeance for.'

1. 1288. πράξασαν ὡς ἔπραξεν, 'faring as it fared,' a euphemism. So Soph. O. T. 1376 βλαστοῦσ' ὅπως ἐβλαστε, Eur. Hec. 873 πάσχοντος οἶα πείσεται.

I take εἶλον, Musgrave's correction. εἶχον would mean the Trojans ('who were holding'). ἔσχον might do, but εἶλον is nearer.

1. 1289. οὕτως ἀπαλλάσσουνσι, 'come to such an end.'

1. 1290. ἰούσα πράξω, 'I shall go to my fate;' πράσσειν seems to mean 'to do what lies before you,' to 'meet what is in store;' not an impossible meaning, but the reading is not certain.

1. 1292. καιρία, 'mortal,' lit. 'reaching the right place.'

1. 1297. αὐτῆς for σεαυτῆς, as often in Trag., Agam. 1141; Eur. Alc. 461; Soph. O. C. 930; and for ἔμαντ. *ib.* O. T. 138.

1. 1300. 'Yet last is first in respect of time,' i. e. 'to be last is to be best off in time,' 'to lose time is to gain time,' as we might say with a similar epigram.

11. 1302-4. Taking these lines as they are read in MSS., the sense is—*Cho.* Yet know that thou art patient with a brave heart (τλήμων, 'enduring').

*Ka.* None that is happy is thus spoken of.

*Cho.* But yet an honourable death is sweet!

The chorus are compassionate and consoling; Kassandra is resigned but gloomy. The sense is good, and Pal., Con., K., Dav. seem right in keeping it. On the other hand H., following Heath, has inverted the order of the last two lines, and the German edd. have generally followed suit. It makes a good, but quite different sense:—

*Cho.* Yet know that bravery brings thee to misery (τλήμων, 'miserable').

*Ka.* But yet an honourable death is sweet.

*Cho.* None that is happy hears such consolation!

But on the whole this is less likely; ἀκούει ταῦτα is much less appropriate; εὐκλεῶς καταθεῖν is not what Kass. is thinking of; and her attitude is all through more a *miserable* than a *courageous* one.

l. 1305. εὐκλεῶς καταθεῖν reminds her of her kindred, slain before Troy; and a new burst of grief overpowers her.

[*She advances to enter the palace; at the door she starts and stops short, as though a new horror had struck her.*]

l. 1308. ἔφευξας, from φεύζω.

l. 1310. τῶδ' ὀζει, 'this scent comes from,' 'this is the scent of.' τῶδε, acc. pron. in apposition to the sentence; literally, 'it smells *this*,' like ἡδὺ ὀζει, 'it smells *sweet*.'

l. 1312. 'No Syrian perfume for the house is this,' ἀγλάϊσμα, lit. 'splendour,' 'luxury.'

l. 1316. δυσοίζω, 'I shrink from;' properly, 'I am uneasy at.'

l. 1317. ἄλλως, 'for nought;' my fear is not vain. A necessary correction for the meaningless ἄλλ' ὥς of the MSS.

'Bear witness of this [that my fear is not vain; that I have prophesied truly] to me after my death, when a woman dies for me a woman, and a man falls for this man with evil wife' (δυσδάμαρος gen. of δυσδάμαρ). Prophet-fashion she confirms her prophecy with another. The woman is of course Klytaemnestra; the man Aegisthos.

l. 1320. ξένῳ, 'to treat as ξένος;' ἐπιξενουμαι (middle) 'to claim a friendly service,' lit. 'to call in a friend to yourself for a thing.' The word is usually passive, 'to be friendly entreated.'

l. 1322. οὐ θρήνον (Hermann's correction) is a quiet and dignified rejection of the chorus' pity; see 1330. [The line is however perhaps corrupt: ῥῆσιν is an unlikely word.]

l. 1323. Read ἡλίον with Karsten; the dat. has come from the proximity of ἐπεύχουμαι, but with πρὸς ὕστατον φῶς, and the succeeding datives, is unlikely.

l. 1324. An obscure and probably corrupt passage. Taking the words as they stand, we can give two possible meanings, owing to the intrinsic ambiguity of τίνω; for the murderer τίνει δίκην when he is

slain, 'pays the penalty'; and also the avenger *τίνει δίκην*, 'pays back justice' to the guilty. So it may mean (1) 'I pray for my avengers to requite my hateful murderers.' (2) 'For my hateful murderers to pay the penalty to my avengers.' The order is in favour of (1); the commoner use of *τίνω* in favour of (2). But the passage for many reasons must be regarded as corrupt. *τοῖς ἐμοῖς* is needlessly repeated; the datives are very clumsy; *τίνειν* wants an object; and Cassandra could hardly speak of *her* avengers, *her* murderers only. Her real drift seems to be, 'I pray that the avengers (of Agamemnon) may requite the murderers at the same time (*δμοῦ*) for *my* death.' [Karst. proposes *ἐμοῦ δούλης* for *δμοῦ, δούλης*: a probable suggestion.]

1. 1326. *εὐμαροῦς χειρώματος*, 'an easy prey.'

1. 1328. I take Conington's correction *σκιὰ τις ἂν πρέψειεν*, 'one might liken them to a sketch.' (Photius says Aesch. used *πρέψαι* for *μοιῶσαι*). *σκιὰ*, 'an outline,' cf. *σκιαγραφεῖν*. [Others take *σκιὰ*, 'they might seem a sketch;' but *τις* and the aorist are rather in favour of the former.] *εἰ δὲ δυστυχῇ*, Epic. subj. with *εἰ*.

1. 1329. 'The touch of the wet sponge blots out the drawing.'  
*ᾤλεσεν*, gnomic aor.

1. 1330. This line is explained by *οὐ θρήνον εἰπεῖν θέλω* (1322) and the chorus' pity (1321). Cassandra gives a wonderfully imaginative and pathetic sketch of human fortunes; then adds, 'this I count far more pitiable than that' (which you pity); the general sadness is sadder than one hapless lot.

[*She goes in sadly to her death.*]

[ll. 1331-42. This short chorus fills the interval while Cassandra is going in, till the blows are struck. The drift is, 'All men desire joy without end; even princes never have enough: now if Agamemnon after all his triumph is to die, who can ever hope to be scatheless?']

1. 1332. *δακτυλοδείκτων*, 'envied,' i. e. wealthy, royal. Cf. Horace's *Monstrari digito*.

1. 1333. *εἶργει*, keeps it off, i. e. *τὸ εὖ πράσσειν*, prosperity.

1. 1334. Perhaps, in view of Cho. 313, *τάδε* is better taken with *φωνῶν*.

1. 1339. 'And dying for the dead brings to pass requital for other deaths,' i. e. dying in revenge for the dead (Iphigeneia) causes a new requital in the deaths of others (Klyt. and Aegisth.). Others take *θανάτων* to mean those whom Ag. has slain, i. e. the same as *θανοῦσι*. But the first rendering is much better sense; the chorus are saddened by Cassandra's prophecy (1280 and 1325) of yet other deaths to follow hers and the king's. [Perhaps *ἐπιπράξει* (Weil) is right for *ἐπιπράξει*.]

1. 1341. 'Who could boast to be born with scatheless fate?'

[SCENE V. (1343-1447).]

*The dying cry of Agamemnon is heard within once and again: the*

chorus take counsel in helpless embarrassment: the door of the palace then opens (1371) and the queen is seen with bloody axe standing over the murdered bodies. She glories in the deed and scouts all warnings or threats of the chorus.]

l. 1343. *ἔσω*, 'within me,' offers no difficulty though K. suspects it.

l. 1344. The chorus become a helpless and hesitating mob of elders, each giving his own opinion. For this interlude see *Introd.*, p. xii.

l. 1347. ἀλλὰ κοινωσόμεθ' ἦν πως ἀσφαλῆ βουλευμάτων' ἧ is the best correction. ἦν is due to Goodwin (*Am. Phil. Soc.* 1877), ἧ to Enger. Hermann's *ἄν πως* is unlikely; *πως* suggests ἦν. 'But let us confer, if perchance we can find safe counsel.'

l. 1349. κηρύσσειν βοήν, 'to proclaim the call,' i. e. to summon to rescue or fight. The βοή was the 'cry' for help. Cf. *ἐλ βραδύνοιμεν βοή* *Suppl.* 730; καὶ εἰποι λαοῖσι βοή δ' ὥκιστα γένοιτο *Od.* 22. 133; the common Homeric βοήν ἀγαθός means 'good at calling on' the men to fight.

l. 1351. νεορρύπτ (ν short, from *ρέω*, 'new-flowing,' not *ρύω*, 'new-drawn'), 'while the sword yet drips,' i. e. *flagrante delicto*.

l. 1355. πρᾶσσοντες, 'devising,' 'preparing.' The sentiment is a curious anachronism. The Argive elders talk of 'tyranny' as if they were members of a free Greek republic.

l. 1356. 'Spurning the credit of delay,' not caring to be deliberate in action. Observe the sententious incompetence of these elders.

l. 1359. 'Tis the doer's part also to counsel about (the deed).' Apparently a sententious shuffling off responsibility. 'I had no part in the act, and why should I be troubled to advise?'

l. 1362. 'What, to prolong our lives, shall we yield to the sway of these defilers of the house?' βίον τείνοντες, 'in trying to lengthen our lives.' ἡγουμένοις, predicate, 'as rulers.'

l. 1365. 'For 'tis a milder lot than tyranny.'

l. 1367. 'Shall we divine the man has perished?' The gen. is the Epic gen. of *intelligence about a person*: one form of the gen. of reference. Compare ὡς γινῶ χωρόμενοι *Il.* 4. 357, εἰ δέ κε τεθνηῶτος ἀκούσω *Od.* 2. 220.

l. 1368. Emphasis on εἰδότης; knowledge should come before anger.

l. 1370. παντόθεν πληθύνομαι. Lit. 'I am multiplied from all sides:' i. e. 'from all sides I find support' to approve this vote. Somewhat similar, though less strained, is the use *Suppl.* 604 δήμου κρατοῦσα χεὶρ ὅπη πληθύνεται, 'which way the decisive show of hands prevails.' [*L. S.* are unsatisfactory on this word.]

l. 1371. Observe the attraction κυροῦνθ' ὅπως for ὅπως κυρεῖ; the natural construction of εἰδέναι being with a participle.

1. 1372. [*Here the doors are rolled open by the ἐκκύκλημα.*] For the ἐκκύκλημα, or machine for showing the interior, see Arist. Ach. 407.

καιρίως, 'to serve the time.'

1. 1375. MSS. *πημονὴν ἀρκύστατον*, which Paley retains, might mean 'a snare-set woe,' i. e. destruction by snares; and we have *ἀρκυστάταν* (? -ον) *μηχανάν* Eur. Or. 1420, used as adj. But this would require us to explain the optat. as remote deliberative, see 620 and appendix; and further *ἀρκύστατα* is used as subst. Pers. 98; Eum. 112; Soph. El. 1426; therefore it seems better to follow Hermann and read *πημονῆς ἀρκύσταται* ἄν. This would easily become *πημονῆς ἀρκυστάταν*, then *πημονήν*, then *ἀρκύστατον*. 'For how (else) could one, devising ill for foes who seem friends, fence the snares of woe too high to leap over?' i. e. how else than by deceit? ὅψος is a kind of cognate acc. describing the result of action (internal acc.).

1. 1378. *νεκῆς* (necessary correction for *νίκης*, meaningless) *παλαιὸς ἀγών*, 'this struggle of an ancient feud;' the feud was old; the ἀγών or crisis was just come. *σὺν χρόνῳ γε μὴν*, 'though long delayed.' γε μὴν, 661. Literally, 'in course of time however.'

1. 1381. *ὥς* for *ὥστε*. 'So that he could neither flee,' etc.

1. 1383. *πλοῦτον εἵματος κακόν*, 'fatal splendour of garb;' it was a large fine-wrought robe.

1. 1385. *μεθῆκεν αὐτοῦ κῶλα*, 'relaxed at once his limbs;' αὐτοῦ, 'on the spot.' This is the most natural way of taking it. (Others αὐτοῦ; weaker. Others *μεθῆκεν*, intrans., possible.)

1. 1387. 'A votive gift to Hades Saviour of the dead,' a grim and ghastly piece of irony; 'just as the third libation is paid to Ζεὺς Σωτήρ (see note on 245) so I paid a third *stob* to Hades, Σωτήρ of the dead!' Enger reads Διός, which would improve τοῦ κατὰ χθονός, rather needless with Αἰδου; improve the irony; and is probable, as it would be easily supplanted by the gloss Αἰδου. But it is safer to follow the MSS.

1. 1388. *ὀρμαίνει*, lit. 'speeds forth,' i. e. 'gasps out his life.' H. reads *ὀρυγάνει*, 'belches out,' which would do, but is not necessary: the root-meaning of *ὀρμαίνω* is 'quick movement.' So Pindar has *θυμὸς ὀρμαίνει νιν* Ol. 3. 145; and Aesch. uses it intrans. Theb. 324 of a horse.

1. 1389. *αἵματος σφαγῆν*, a bold stretch of language; we should say 'his life-blood' by an opposite metaphor.

1. 1390. 'Smites me with black splash of the murderous dew,' a fine unsparing phrase.

1. 1392. 'Rejoicing no less than doth in heaven's sweet rain the corn-land at the birthpang of the buds.' Splendid lines, restored by Porson's insight from desperate corruption. For the return to nom. *σπορητός*, compare *πῶλον δημοκρατουμένην ὥσπερ καὶ αὐτοί* Thuc. 5. 44.



1. 1394. χαίρου' ἂν εἰ χαίρου', 'joy if ye can,' see 1049 note.

1. 1395. εἰ δ' ἦν πρεπόντων, 'had it been a fitting thing,' for τῶν πρεπόντων, as above, 323. Perhaps however πρέπον τόδ' (Karst.) is right.

1. 1396. μὲν οὖν, corrective as usual, 'nay more than just.'

1. 1397. The comparison must not be pressed too far; it suffices for Klytaemnestra's grim irony, and is powerfully expressive of her horrible cold-blooded triumphant mood. 'Had it been fitting,' she says (what a time to talk of decorum!), 'to pour libations over the corpse, over him it had been just—nay more than just.' (Here one begins to see that the libation is metaphorical, in some bitter sense; then out it comes.) 'So full of curses did he fill his bowl in his house, then comes and drinks it to the dregs himself!' i. e. a libation would suit this reveller: he drank deep—of curses! κακῶν ἀπαίων certainly go together; 'ills accursed,' 'ills curse-bringing.'

11. 1403-6. The relentless gloating of Kl. over her deed is very finely given by these bare and bald details. ὁμοιον, 1239.

1. 1407. Observe the skill with which the chorus take to the lyric dochmiacs, when the tragedy is beyond the common speech of iambics. The general sense is, 'what drug hast thou eaten or drunk from land or sea, that thus thou hast brought on thy head the curse of the people? Thou hast slain, and shalt be outcast.'

1. 1408. πᾶσαμένα from πατέομαι, 'to taste' (not πᾶσαμένα from πάσμαι, 'to acquire').

1. 1409. τόδ' ἐπέθου θύος, 'hast thou brought upon thyself this sacrifice?'

θύος is a euphemism for the murder. (Pal. and others construe 'incense,' explaining it to mean 'the wrath' of the people; but this is farfetched and the common sense of θύος in Epic and Aesch. is 'sacrifice.')

1. 1410. The emphasis is on the oft-repeated preposition: 'away thou hast hurled, away thou hast cleft, and away thou shalt be cast.'

1. 1414. 'Though formerly thou didst not withstand him at all;' in the days of old when *his* crime was done.

τότε is better than MS. τόδ'.

1. 1415. 'Who caring not, as 'twere a beast that died.' μόρον is governed however by προτιμῶν.

1. 1417. 'His own daughter, sweetest pain of travelling to me;' the apposition of ὠδίνα to παῖδα is a fine stretch of language.

1. 1420. ἐπήκοος, equivalent to a partic. 'when thou hearest.'

1. 1421. There is no occasion to alter the MSS. reading: 'I bid thee threaten and welcome, for I am prepared that likewise, if thou conquer me by force, thou shalt rule.' She shows the same contemptuous force as ever, 'I scorn your threats; let us try conclusions, and let the strong-win.' The construction of the acc. inf. after παρεσκευασμένης is not

unnatural considering the freedom of poetry and the great flexibility of Greek. [Perhaps however *παρεσκευασμένον* (Madv.) is right.]

l. 1425. 'I'll teach thee to know, though late, the ways of prudence.' γνώσει, naturally often used in threats, Soph. Ant. 779, O. C. 852, and *infra*, 1619.

l. 1426. Rather a difficult passage: the MS. is corrupt in 1428; and the proper stopping is doubtful. It seems to make the best sense with the least alteration if we read *ἐμπρέπει, ἀτίετον* for *εὖ πρέπει ἀτίετον*, the reading of Fa.: 'High is thy spirit, and haughty thy word, as indeed thy mind is frenzied by the deed of blood; the blood-stain over thine eyes is plain to see: [but yet] one day dishonoured, rest of friends, thou shalt pay for blow with blow!' [Others read *ἐμπρέπειν* (Pal., H., K.) after *ἐλακες*, 'thou didst boast that the stain,' etc., referring to 1390. But *περίφρονα* refers to her whole attitude, not to one phrase thirty-five lines back. Others read *ἀτιτον* with what precedes, 'a blood-stain unavenged.']

l. 1431. *θέμις*, properly (from *θε-*) 'ordinance,' 'that which is laid down,' 'law'; used here in a strained sense to mean something like 'sanctity,' or 'solemnity.' Construe, 'This too thou hearest, this my solemn oath.'

l. 1434. The MS. reading here means, 'Hope doth not tread for me the halls of Fear.' A fine picturesque phrase, surely not too imaginative or metaphorical for Aeschylus. She means, 'My hope does not approach fear,' 'my confidence is dashed with no misgivings.'

[Others construe, 'Expectation of fear does not tread my halls,' a much poorer sense. Others read *ἐμπατεῖν*, 'I have no expectation that fear (*φόβον*) will tread my halls,' or 'to tread the halls of fear' (*φόβον*). None are as fine as the MS. reading, in the sense given above.]

l. 1435. Observe the lavish imagery: Aegisthos is 'a fire' and 'a shield.'

l. 1439. 'Minion of each Chryseis before Troy.' *Chryseis*, daughter of the priest Chryses: the Iliad opens with her as Agamemnon's slave and concubine. This use of the plural is natural in all languages. So Plat. Theat. 169 B *οἱ Θεσείες τε καὶ Ἡρακλείες*.

l. 1442. *ναυτίλων δὲ σελμάτων ἰσοτριβής*, 'sharing alike with him the mariners' bench.' Quite good sense, and not requiring the further change of *ναυτίλοις*, which some edd. give.

l. 1443. *ἄτιμα δ' οὐκ ἐπραξάτην*, 'ay, they deserved their fate.'

l. 1446. *φιλήτωρ τῷδ'*, 'dear to his heart.' *φιλήτωρ*, not verbal from *φίλειω*, which would be a masculine word, but from *φίλος-ἦτορ*, adj. Hence we must change MS. *τοῦδ'* to *τῷδ'*, with H. *τοῦδε* has easily come from misunderstanding the form *φιλήτωρ*.

l. 1447. 'And to me has brought a new delight for my luxurious couch.' Lit. 'a new couch-relish of my luxury.' She means she has

added to her lawless love the new delight of a doubly satisfied jealousy and vengeance. But the genitives are doubtless awkward and may be corrupt, and one is tempted to take Schöm.'s  $\epsilon\mu\eta \dots \epsilon\upsilon\nu\eta$ .

[ll. 1449-1576. *Kommos, or lamentation, with answers from the stage.*

*Chorus.* (1449-61). 'Oh for some speedy and painless death! Oh fatal Helena!'

*Klyt.* (1461-67). 'Pray not for death nor blame Helena for all!'

*Chor.* (1468-74). 'Oh fate so hard on our house! oh fatal women!'

*Klyt.* (1475-80). 'You are right to call on our Fate: he is the source of bloodshed.'

*Chor.* (1481-96). 'A grievous fate, from Zeus the almighty. Oh king how bewail thee, slain by evil craft?'

*Klyt.* (1497-1504). 'I am not Klytaemnestra, but the Race-Avenger in woman's shape.'

*Chor.* (1505-20). 'Say not you are innocent: perhaps the Avenger is your helper.'

*Klyt.* (1521-29). 'He too was guilty: he slew Iphigeneia.'

*Chor.* (1530-50). 'I am bewildered amid this bloodshed. Oh that I had died first! Who will bury him? wilt thou, the murderess?'

*Klyt.* (1551-59). 'I will bury him; and his daughter dear shall meet him as he crosses the dark river, and welcome him.'

*Chor.* (1560-66). 'Another reviling! It is hard to see clear: the spoiler is spoiled: 'tis the gods' will.'

*Klyt.* (1567-78). 'Henceforth I will make truce with the family Fate: he shall go and plague others: I shall be at peace: I want but little.']

l. 1450.  $\phi\acute{\epsilon}\rho\omicron\upsilon\sigma\alpha\iota \epsilon\acute{\nu} \eta\mu\acute{\iota}\nu$ , 'bringing amongst us:' the use of  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}$  (and other preps. which take dat. see 357) with verb of motion is Epic. Cf.  $\epsilon\acute{\nu}\iota \sigma\acute{\eta}\theta\epsilon\sigma\sigma\iota\nu \delta\rho\acute{o}\upsilon\sigma\alpha\varsigma$  Il. 22. 182: so  $\pi\rho\omicron\tau\acute{\iota} \omicron\iota \epsilon\iota\lambda\epsilon$ , 'took her to him,' *ib.* 507. Hence we need not change to  $\epsilon\phi'$  with H.

l. 1451.  $\delta\alpha\mu\acute{\epsilon}\nu\tau\omicron\varsigma$ , 'laid low;' Epic word for 'slain.'

l. 1453. The simplest and best emendation is to read Epic  $\pi\omicron\lambda\acute{\epsilon}\alpha$  for  $\pi\omicron\lambda\lambda\acute{\alpha}$  with Enger, omitting  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  here and  $\mu\omicron\iota$  1472; 'having borne much through a woman.'  $\kappa\alpha\iota$  is not wanted: if put directly the sentence would be  $\epsilon\delta\acute{\alpha}\mu\eta \dots \tau\lambda\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ .

l. 1456. Observe the effect of  $\tau\acute{\alpha}\varsigma$ , 'who alone didst bring to death so many, so exceeding many lives.'

ll. 1458-61 are very corrupt and obscure. They are generally taken, after Hermann, to be parallel with 1537-50, a supposition very probable; but if so there are  $5\frac{1}{2}$  lines of anapaests lost, and the three lyric lines correspond very imperfectly. It is useless to prune the lines to fit each other; the best one can do is to guess at the sense as near as may be.

Omitting then δι' before αἶμ' with Herm. and reading with Enger ἡ τις for ἥ τις, we may translate: . . . 'Thou hast put forth on thee as a flower a memorable stain of blood indelible; surely there was strife then in the house, a woe subduing the king.' ἐρίδματος, Epic compound from ἐρι-, 'exceedingly,' δμα-, 'to subdue.' This may be taken in default of better.

l. 1467. ἀξύστατον, 'that cannot be put together, arranged, settled,' and so of pain 'not to be allayed,' 'incurable.' Aristophanes playfully quotes the word (Nub. 1367) of Aeschylus himself, putting it (according to the best arrangement) in the mouth of an opponent; there it seems to mean 'rough,' 'uncouth,' 'boisterous,' lit. 'not to be settled or composed.' (Paley's 'incomparable' will not do at all; he misses the sense of the passage in the Clouds.)

l. 1469. 'The two sons of Tantalos' are, of course, Agamemnon and Menelaos.

l. 1470 seems to mean, 'and wieldest the sway like-minded of two women, that gnaws my heart,' i. e. 'and who bringest the power of two women equally imperious (Helena and Klytaemnestra) with men, causing such woe to me.'

l. 1472. ἐννόμως is the best supported reading, 'and standing over the body like a hateful raven, she boasts that her song is just.' But ἐκνόμως, reading of Farnese, is best sense, 'she boastfully sings a tuneless strain;' the harsh, discordant (ἐκνόμως), triumphant note of the raven makes a much better point.

l. 1476. τριπάχυντον (Hermann's correction for the impossible τριπάχυνον), 'thrice gorged,' explained below in αἱματολοιχός.

l. 1478. 'For 'tis he from whom bloodthirsty longing is nursed in the heart; before the old woe ceases, the new blood flows.' νείραι, 'in the heart,' unknown word. (Others νείρα = νειαίρα, Homeric adj. 'lowest,' agreeing with γαστήρ; and Hesych. mentions νείρη, 'the belly,' but of two unknown words one prefers the MS. form.)

l. 1480. ἰχώρ, Epic word for the ethereal blood of the gods. Here used for 'blood' simply.

l. 1481. οἰκονόμον (Schn., K.) is the best correction for οἰκοῖς τοῖσδε, 'haunting the house.'

l. 1483. αἶνον, cognate (internal) acc. to αἰνεῖς, 'a mighty Fate is he of whom thou tellest . . . an evil tale of woe accursed, insatiate.'

l. 1492. 'The spider's web' is of course the cloak in which he was caught and slain.

l. 1493. ἐκπνέων at the end of the anapaestic stanza must be pronounced as dissyllable; just as θεῶν, πόλεως, βασιλείας, are 1, 2, and 3 syllables respectively when required (synizesis).

l. 1494. After a pause at ἐκπνέων, the sentence is continued in a

burst of anguish, '(thou liest) alas! alas! on this base bed.' κοίταν, cognate acc.

l. 1495. βελέμῃ, 'weapon.' It is generally called an axe, though more probably a dagger.

l. 1498. μὴδ' ἐπιλεχθῆς, 'but do not think.' ἐπιλέγομαι is an Ionic word, used often in Herodotus for 'to think,' 'expect,' 'consider,' properly no doubt 'to say over to one's self.' This tense does not occur elsewhere, and has been suspected; but there is no more intrinsic difficulty in it than in the deponent διελέχθην, which is common.

μηδέ, 'but not,' is Epic; in Attic it was always ἀλλὰ μή. See Od. 5. 177, 10. 342.

l. 1501. 'The ancient bitter Avenger' is the personified spectre or spirit of justice, which makes demand for other blood in requital for blood shed. See Introduction, p. xii.

l. 1502. 'Who served the hideous banquet' of children to Thyestes.

l. 1504. 'Slaughtering a man for children,' lit. 'upon children,' i.e. the second victim (metaphorically) ὑπὸν the first, that is to say, 'in vengeance for.'

l. 1507. πῶ πῶ; Lit. 'where? where?' Doric for ποῦ. The meaning is, 'Nay, nay!' just as in the colloquial word πῶμαλα, 'not a bit.'

πατρὸθεν δέ, 'yet from his sires an avenger might aid thee;' you are not innocent, but the ancestral avenger may have had a share in the bloodshed.

ll. 1510-12. Rather difficult and doubtful passage. It begins, 'Yet black havoc presses on, with streams of kindred slaughter (then MSS. read ὅποι δὲ καὶ προβαίνων πάχνα κουροβόρῃ παρέξει, quite impossible Greek, though even Hermann tries to construe it; the easiest alteration is Butler's and Scholefield's δίκαν for δὲ καί, which I have taken), 'thither where advancing he shall give requital for the clot of the blood of children slain for food,' i.e. black havoc presses with murder in the family till he has avenged the murder of Thyestes' children. But one cannot feel much confidence about the reading or sense.

ll. 1521, 2. These lines are clearly spurious; the answer clearly begins οὐδὲ γάρ, the οὐτε is wrong, and the insertion spoils the sense of what follows.

l. 1525. ἔρνος is acc. after δράσας, which regularly takes acc. of person treated, and of the kind of treatment. 'But my offshoot sprung from him . . . as he hath dealt with her so hath he suffered.'

l. 1526. The τε after πολυκλαυτον marks apposition; so Suppl. 60 Τηρεῖας ἀλόχου κυρηνάτου τ' ἀηδόνας. Ἰφιγενείαν, older (dialectic) form with a long; so we find εὐκλείᾱ, ἀγροῖᾱ, ἀνοῖᾱ, in Trag. and ὕγειᾱ even in Com. (Ar. Av. 609). Hence there is no need to read with MSS. Ἰφιγένειαν. ἀν. | ἄξια δράσας κ.τ.λ. See next line.

## AGAMEMNON.

1. 1527. *δξια δράσας δξια πάσχων*. A difficulty has been made with these lines from not seeing that the words are *correlative*, 'the deed was worthy (of the suffering), the suffering was worthy (of the deed).'

1. 1531. *μέριμναν*, acc. after *στερηθείς* (which verb takes naturally acc. of thing stolen), 'robbed of thought's ready devising.'

1. 1533. 'I fear the patter of bloody rain, that makes the house to totter; no longer it comes in drops.'

1. 1535. To say that 'Fate sharpens justice for another deed of harm' is quite intelligible, and the imagery quite Aeschylean. So the ordinary correction *δίκην* may be taken. At the same time the simpler phrase *δίκη . . . θηγάνας μάχαιραν* (Musgrave) is a rather tempting emendation.

1. 1540. *δουλή*, 'bath'; *χαμύνη*, 'low couch.'

1. 1544. *αὐτῆς* for *σεαυτῆς*, 1297.

1. 1545. *ἀχαριν χάριν*, 'a graceless gift' (*Moss*).

1. 1548. 'And who shall utter his praise with tears over the tomb of the man divine, labouring in sincerity of heart.' The *ἀλήθεια φρενῶν* last and emphatic; it was so terribly absent in Klytaemnestra.

1. 1553. The prepositions as in 1410. 'Down he fell, down he lay, and down we will bury him.' Klytaemnestra is perhaps scornfully parodying the emphasis of the chorus. The absence of augment, and the assimilation of *κατ*-, is Epic.

1. 1554. Her bitterness and cruel triumph reach a climax in this terrible sarcasm, 'None of the house shall bewail him, . . . but his *dear daughter, as is fit*, shall meet and welcome him at the swift ferry-passage of woes.'

1. 1560. Notice how the last note of this long chorus is the darkness and inscrutability of fate; the inevitableness of the evil consequences of sin. *δνειδος ἀντ' δνειδους*, 'reviling for reviling'; the bitterness of Klyt.'s taunt saddens but does not now anger the chorus.

1. 1561. 'Tis hard to discern the right; she spoils the spoiler, the slayer pays his debt, but it remains—while Zeus remains on his throne—that the doer must suffer. . .'

1. 1562. *φέρει φέροντ'*, a proverbial phrase, *φέρω* in the old sense *φέρειν ἀγειν*, 'to carry off booty.'

1. 1564. *χρόνῳ* is the MS. reading, which can only be construed with Klausen, 'while Zeus remains, it remains *in due time* that,' etc., and the order of the words is very harsh for this. Paley's rendering, 'while time remains and Zeus is lord,' is good sense, but hardly the Greek. It is better to read *θρόνῳ* with Schütz (so H., Schn., Eng., etc.)

1. 1565. *γονὰν ἀραίων* (H.'s beautiful correction for *ῥᾶον*), 'the brood of curses.'

1. 1566. Again a certain correction πρὸς ἄτῃ for the meaningless προσάψαι (ΑΥΑΙ into ΑΤΑΙ), 'the race is fast bound to woe.'

1. 1567. MSS. have ἐνέβη χρησμόν, some alter to ἐνέβης, which gives a poor sense; a far better one is got by altering χρησμόν to χρησμός, 'this maxim (that the doer shall suffer) has with truth trodden him (Agamemnon) down.'

1. 1569. Πλεισθενιδᾶν. Grammarians say that Pleisthenes was son of Atreus, and father of Agamemnon, but that as he died young, Agamemnon is usually called son of Atreus. It is certain that Agamemnon is son of Atreus in the Homeric tradition, which seems to be usually that of the later poets in this respect. Perhaps Pleisthenes belongs to another form of the story altogether, and Aeschylus merely uses his name for the *family*, just as he calls them sometimes Pelopidae, or Tantalidae.

1. 1570. 'Making compact that I will bear this, though hard to be borne, but that hereafter he shall go,' etc.

τάδε μὲν στέργειν. It is characteristic of Klytaemnestra's cold-blooded shamelessness that she speaks of '*bearing*' the trouble of the house, she the murderess. The tone is, 'We have been plagued enough, let the hard fate of the house go vex other families with kindred slaughter.'

1. 1573. αὐθέντης θάνατος, 'kin-murder.' See note on αὐτοφόνος, 1091.

1. 1574. The cold irony is at its height here, 'All I want is a quiet life and a humble competence, having cured the house of its *blood-feud*.'

[Exodos, or last scene (1577-1673). Aegisthos vaunts his part in the bloody deed, telling the tale of past deeds which have produced this: the chorus rebuke him, and mention the name of Orestes. The quarrel waxes hot, and violence is threatened, when Klytaemnestra intervenes and stops the strife.]

1. 1579. 'The gods look down on woes of earth, aiding mortals,' is perfectly good sense; no need to alter ἀχη into ἀγη.

1. 1582. 'Paying for the crafty crimes of his sire's hand' is explained in what follows; note that Atreus again is called πατήρ, not Pleisthenes.

1. 1585. ἀμφίλεκτος ὧν κράτει, 'being questioned in his sovereignty,' i. e. 'his power disputed.' ἀμφ. must be passive (cf. 881); the passage quoted for the active meaning, ἀμφίλεκτος ἔρις (Eur. Phoen. 500), proves nothing, as the passive meaning is quite possible there.

1. 1589. '(A lot secure), not to die and defile with his blood his native soil.' The MSS. read mostly αὐτοῦ, as the end of this sentence. Even if we construe it 'there on the spot,' it seems unfit and intolerably flat. (See however ἐμήν 14.) Further, the tribrach ξένια is ugly.

The probability is that it is a gloss, and one is strongly tempted to think with Schütz that the next line is spurious, and that 1590 originally ran *ξένα δὲ τοῦδε δούσιος πατήρ πατήρ*. See next note.

l. 1591. Probably spurious, *πατήρ* belonging to 1590. 'More zealous than friendly,' is only possible as a joke, when applied to a man who under cover of a banquet murders his brother's children; and Aegisthos is not joking. Moreover, the jingle *προθύμως, εὐθύμως* is suspicious, the name *Ἀτρεΰς* needless, and the rejection of 1591 amends 1590 so neatly.

l. 1592. 'Feigning to celebrate with cheer a day of feasting.'

l. 1594. *κτένας*, properly 'combs,' here 'the fingers.' The word is used of a variety of things, ribs, hair, rakes, teeth, wherever the metaphor is natural.

l. 1595. The MS. reading will construe . . . *ἔθρυπτ' ἄνωθεν ἀνδρακὰς καθήμενος. ἄσσημα δ' αὐτῶν αὐτίκ' ἀγνοίᾳ λαβὼν κ.τ.λ.* 'The feet and hands he (Atreus) broke up small (*θρύπτω*, 'to crush,' used with *βάλλακα, χίονα κ.τ.λ.*, *not* 'to break off,') sitting above, apart from the rest; but the undistinguishable parts he (Thyestes) taking in ignorance,' etc. And the antithesis between *τὰ μὲν ποδῆρην* and *ἄσσημα δ' αὐτῶν* (which, however, should probably be *τάσσημα*) is clear and natural, and at first sight seems a strong argument for the MS. reading. But the change of subject without any notice is very harsh, and the real antithesis to *τὰ μὲν ποδῆρην* is probably understood in the rapid and vivid narrative. We must then take Hermann's *ἄσσημα. ὁ δ' αὐτῶν*, and very possibly *ἔκρυπτ'* for *ἔθρυπτ'*, with Casaubon. The sense will be: 'The feet and hands he broke up small (*or* hid on the dish, *ἔκρυπτ'*), sitting above and apart, so that none should know them (*ἄσσημα*, proleptic); [the rest of the flesh he put on the dish]; but he in ignorance took thereof (*αὐτῶν* partitive, or perh. after *ἀγνοίᾳ*) and ate a meal fatal,' etc.

l. 1599. 'And falls back, spitting forth the slaughtered flesh.' I have taken Hartung's *ἀπὸ σφαγῆν* with the MS. *ἐρῶν*, i. e. *ἀπερῶν σφαγῆν*, from *ἀπ-ἐράω*, to 'spit or vomit forth.' Another compound, *ἐξεράω*, is used in Aristoph. for 'to disgorge.' *ἀπὸ σφαγῆν* would be certain to get corrupted into *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς*, and *ἐράω* is transitive, and requires accusative. [*ἐρῶν* is defended by Prof. Goodwin.] This seems better than the common *ἀπὸ σφαγῆς ἐμῶν*, 'from the flesh vomiting.'

l. 1601. It is perhaps simplest to construe this, 'spurning the banquet to aid his curse.' *σύνδικος* being properly 'one who pleads with you,' 'an aider in the cause.' *συνδίκως* governs *ἀρᾶ* [the common rendering 'jointly,' is worse sense, and has no parallel in the usage of *σύνδικος*]. The violent crash of the banquet was the symbol (*οὔτως*) of the invoked destruction of the family. Such symbolism is common and natural in primitive times when good or evil is prophesied or invoked.



NOTES. LINES 1591-1625.

l. 1605. 'For me, the thirteenth child, he drives out with my hapless father.' This is the meaning of the MS. reading; but ἐπὶ δέκ' is almost certainly corrupt; the only traditions we have give at most three children to Thyestes, and the mention of the number seems so needless and inappropriate. I read with Schöm. δυσαλθλίφ. ἐπὶ means lit. 'on,' i.e. 'along with.' It is rather needless with συνελαύνει, and hence the corruption.

l. 1611. All the MSS. (except Fa., which has been a good deal corrected) give ἰδόντα: the acc. is quite right after τὸ κατθανεῖν, in agreement with the subject. So Eur. Med. 814 σοὶ δὲ συγγνώμη λέγειν τὰδ' ἐστὶ μὴ πάσχουσιν ὥς ἐγὼ κακῶς.

l. 1612. σέβω, 'honour,' understatement for 'approve.'

l. 1617. νερτέρᾳ κώπῃ. There were three benches or banks of rowers in a trireme, the θαλαμῖται, or lowest, with least work and pay; then the ζυγῖται, or middle; and finally, the θρανῖται, or highest bench. If ζυγόν, as is probable, refers to ζυγῖται, Aeschylus must be thinking of a bireme, where the ζυγῖται would be the highest. (Klausen.) The νερτέρᾳ κώπῃ is then the θαλαμῖται. 'Dost thou speak so, set to the lower oar, when those on the higher seat control the ship?'

l. 1620. σωφρονεῖν εἰρημένον, 'when bidden to be prudent.' εἰρημένον, 'it being ordered,' acc. absolute, like παρόν, δέον, ἐξόν, προσηκόν κ.τ.λ., the regular usage with impersonals.

l. 1621. γήρας, acc. 'but to teach even the old, chains and hunger-pangs are excellent physicians of the mind.' (Two MSS. misunderstanding the constr. read δεσμών.)

l. 1623. 'Hast eyes and seest not this?'

l. 1624. παίσας is found in a Scholiast's quotation of the line, and is in itself better than the other suggestion πταίσας, 'stumbling:' 'lest thou strike them and suffer.'

l. 1625. These three lines must be addressed to Aegisthos, for (1) Klyt. is not on the scene, being only summoned later by the noise to allay the tumult, (2) even if she was here the chorus have said their say to her (1373-1575), (3) it would sadly interrupt the scene to interpolate an appeal to the queen, when the point here is the rising exasperation between Aegisthos and the chorus. Taking Wieseler's μένων (for νέον) and αλσχύνας, we may leave the rest: it is better than altering τοὺς ἡκοντας. 'Thou woman, didst thou abide at home waiting for the warrior's return, and having defiled the man's bed, devise this fate for the leader of the host?'

[If we retain νέον and αλσχύνουσι we must take the ordinary correction τοῦδ' ἡκοντος: but we must still, for the reasons given, suppose it addressed to Aegisthos: the fem. part. will then continue the taunt of γύναι.]

l. 1628. There is bitterness in the turgid expression ἀρχηγενῆ, 'the primal source of tears.'

l. 1631. 'Stirring our wrath with thy vain howling.'

l. 1632. ἔξει, passive, 'shall be dragged off,' another point of contrast with Orpheus. 'He was sweet-voiced, you howl like a dog; he dragged others after him, you shall be dragged away.'

l. 1633. ὡς δὴ σὺ, lit. 'for of course you will be,' 'since surely you will be,' i. e. 'doubtless you will be,' ironical. So Soph. O. C. 809 ὡς δὴ σὺ βραχεία ταῦτα δ' ἐν καιρῷ λέγεις. Or it might be explained as an exclamation, 'how surely you will be!' also ironical.

l. 1637. 'I was of old suspected as a foe.'

l. 1640. βαρέαις, 'with heavy yoke.' ζεύγαις understood from the verb. οὐ μὴ or οὐτι μὴ, properly used with subj. or future indic., e. g. οὐ τι μὴ ληφθῶ, 'no fear of my being caught.' οὐ μὴ τις ἔξει (Soph. O. C. 177), 'No chance of any one taking you away.' Hence it comes to be used as a very strong negative, and so we find it here negating an adj. only. 'Surely no high-mettled trace-horse,' well fed and lightly caparisoned, but a heavily yoked one tamed by hunger. [Perhaps however, as οὐ μὴ is generally used with verbs, we should read with Karst. οὐ τι μὴν. So Soph. Phil. 1273.]

l. 1642. μαλθακὸν σφ' ἐπόψεται, 'shall see him tamed.'

l. 1645. 'But with thee a woman slew him.' σύν, adverbial, an Epic usage not uncommon in poetry; ἐν, πρός, and others, are so used. But as Klyt. did not *share* the deed, but did it alone, σύν has been doubted. If it is right it must be used loosely to mean 'thy accomplice,' 'acting with thee.' Most edd. read νιν, Schn. suggests σοί, which is not bad.

l. 1649. δοκεῖς, 'art resolved,' personal construction, see 16. ἔρδειν καὶ λέγειν, 'to do and say such things,' no need for κοῦ λέγειν, as most edd. alter.

l. 1650. A line is lost here; 1651 must be given to Aegisthos (not the chorus, as MSS.), for 1652 is clearly an answer to it. λοχῖται, 'comrades,' are Aegisthos' bodyguard.

l. 1653. 'Die, thou sayest; we take the omen,' as Ken. well translates it. τὴν τύχην δ' αἰρούμεθα, 'and we take our good fortune.'

[*Klytaemnestra appears just as they are about to fight, and stirs the tumult.*]

l. 1655. The order of the words points to taking πολλά as predicate, 'Even these are many to reap, a bitter harvest.' The commoner rendering, 'Even to reap these many woes is a bitter harvest,' is possible, but would rather require τοσαῦτα.

ll. 1657, 8. Very corrupt. I have taken Madvig's as the best emendation, πρὸς δέμους, πεπρωμένους πρὶν παθεῖν, εἰζάντες ἄρκειν

χρῆν κ.τ.λ., 'Go to your homes, yielding to fate before ye suffer.' This is the only correction which gives a decent sense to πεπρωμένος, a word always used of fate. [If this alters too much, take Hermann's, πρὸς δόμους πεπρωμένους, Πρὶν παθεῖν ἔρχαντες ἀρκεῖν κ.τ.λ.]

1. 1659. Read with Hermann δεχοίμεθ' ἄν. The best sense seems to be, 'and if these troubles should be found sufficient, we would accept them, though grievously smitten with God's wrath.' (Hermann's δ' ἔτ' οὐ for δέ τοι is unhappy, it would be μηκέτι), i. e. 'if no further trouble occurs, we will be content.' A proudly conciliatory speech, meaning, 'we will forget this outbreak if you keep quiet for the future.'

1. 1662. 'Cull the flowers of a foolish tongue,' a characteristic Aeschylean figure. The accus. and inf. is exclamatory, 'But that these should...' i. e. 'the idea that they should...'

1. 1664. Blomfield ingeniously supplies θ' ὑβρίσαι for the missing three syllables.

1. 1666. μέτεμι, 'will visit it on thee.'

1. 1668. 'Exiles feed on hope;' in this scornful taunt there is dramatic irony, for those who know what is coming in the next play; the exile Orestes returns and slays her.

1. 1669. 'Go on, and fatten, defiling justice; for thou hast the power.'

1. 1671. The cock was the 'home-fighting' bird (ἐνδομάχας Pind. Ol. 12. 13; ἐνοίκιος ὄρνις Eum. 866), and so is Aegisthos, who dares not fight abroad, but is only formidable on his own dunghill.

1. 1672. προτιμῶ has a secondary meaning 'to care for,' and the construction follows the meaning; it takes gen. like μέλει, φροντίζειν κ.τ.λ.

# APPENDICES.

## I.

### *The Remote Deliberative.*

Line 620. οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι τὰ ψευδῆ καλὰ. All the commentators notice here the omission of ἄν: Paley says it occurs in negative propositions. Kennedy follows Peile in saying the optative is due to indefinite generality: a strange confusion. Enger says the strict Attic rule would require ἄν: Hermann does not notice it. Madvig emends wildly. The true explanation seems to have escaped everybody.

The fact is, that all the passages where commentators have regretted the want of ἄν in Attic Greek have one common character; they are all (not 'negative,' as Paley says, on a small induction, but) *interrogative*, either direct or indirect. The following is a list of those I can find:—

#### (1) Direct.

Soph. O. C. 170 ποῖ τις φροντίδος ἔλθοι; (sic Laur. Cod.)

„ Ant. 604 τέαν Ζεῦ δύνασιν τις ὑπερβασία κατὰσχοι; (sic Codd.)

„ Phil. 895 τί δῆτα δρῶμ' ἐγώ;

Ar. Plut. 438 ποῖ τις φύγοι;

Plat. Gorg. 492 B τί κάκιον εἶη;

Aesch. Choeph. 595 τίς λέγοι;

#### (2) Indirect.

Aesch. Ag. 620 οὐκ ἔσθ' ὅπως λέξαιμι.

„ P. V. 292 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅτῳ μείζονα μοῖραν νείμαιμι.

„ Cho. 172 οὐκ ἔστιν ὅστις πλὴν ἐμοῦ κείραιτό νιν.

Eur. Alc. 52 ἔστ' οὖν ὅπως Ἀλκηστις ἐς γῆρας μόλοι;

Plat. Euthyd. 296 D οὐκ ἔχω πῶς ἀμφισβητοῖην.

Soph. O. C. 1172 καὶ τίς ποτ' ἐστίν, ὃν γ' ἐγὼ ψέξαίμ τι; also closely resembles these and should be classed with them.

[It is true that (2) are not strictly interrogative in form: but just as οὐκ ἔχει τί εἶπῃ (and even ἔχει δ, τι εἶπῃ) are allowed by analogy or extension of usage from the strict interrogative form οὐκ οἶδεν or οἶδεν δ, τι εἶπῃ, so these instances are really the interrogative optative put obliquely.]

Now it must be plain, considering these examples all in a lump, that what they *vary from* is not the optative with ἄν, but the interrogative subjunctive, or, as it is usually called, the *deliberative*. The subjunctive

## APPENDICES.

might be substituted for the optative in all these instances: and in the first two it is usually so read, though against the best MS. authority.

The difficulty then is this: not why *ἄν* is omitted, for the sentences are not conditional; but why the *remote* form (optative) is used instead of the *primary* form (subjunctive), when the sentences are all of a *primary* character.

The answer is that the optative expresses the remoteness, not as usual (e.g. in past final, or past indefinite, or past deliberatives) of *pastness*, but of possibility: the instinct is to express by optative something *more out of the question* than the subjunctive would have expressed.

Thus e.g. in the first instance *τίς κατὰσχῆν*; would be good Greek, but the question of restraining Zeus' omnipotence would seem to be more treated as a practical one: the optative puts it further off, as a wild impossibility.

Or again, in Ar. Plut. 438 *ποῖ φύγη* would be in ordinary circumstances the expression, and so the older editors all read it: but *φύγοι*, the MS. reading, and the right one, is the exclamation of supreme terror, treating escape as in the last degree unlikely.

## II.

*τόπος, τοπή, τοπάω, τὸ πᾶν.*

Mr. A. W. Verrall, in a very ingenious paper in the *Journal of Philology* (9. 115), has endeavoured to show that a family of words—*τόπος*, *τοπή*, and *τοπάω*, all connected with *τοπάω*, and meaning 'conjecture,' 'divination,' 'discovery' (the verb 'to divine' or 'discover')—has disappeared from many places in our texts, owing to various corruptions, such as *τρόπος* for *τόπος*, *τὸ πᾶν* for *τοπᾶν* or *τοπᾶν*, etc.

In the course of his argument he deals with the following passages from Agamemnon:—

(1) 161-176.

(2) 681-99 sqq.

(3) 992-3.

In (1) (besides many other emendations) he would read in 174-5:—

*Ζῆνα δὲ τίς προφρόνως ἐπινίκια κλέζων*

*τεύξεταί φρενῶν τοπᾶν,*

which he construes, 'but he that prophetically nameth (*κλέζων* for *κλήζων*) Zeus by titles of victory shall be right in thus divining his character.'

In (2) he would read in 681 *ᾧδ' ἐς τοπᾶν ἐτηγύμωσ*, 'with so true a prophecy' (with such literal truth in respect of his divination).

## APPENDICES.

In (3) he would read οὐ τοπᾶν ἔχων ἐλπίδος φίλον θράσος, 'unable to discover the welcome assurance of hope.'

After carefully considering his arguments, I must own that in all three passages I prefer the MS. reading. (1) Κλάζων can quite well be used of a loud utterance (cp. 48, 201): and τεύζεται φρενῶν τὸ πᾶν, 'shall find wisdom altogether,' is a better sense than the one proposed. Indeed 'divining his character' is a totally inappropriate expression; there is no 'divination of character' in piously calling Zeus 'the Victor:' and for the meaning given to προφρόνως there is no authority whatever.

In (2) the emendation is less unlikely: but even there τοπή does not seem quite the right word, as it should properly mean 'conjecture' as opposed to 'knowledge,' and not 'prophecy;' it is properly applied to *finding out truth* by guessing, not *foretelling* it; and the MSS. ἐς τὸ πᾶν ἐτηγύμως, 'altogether truly' (not 'on the whole,' as Mr. Verrall says, which is quite different, but like πάνν or παράπαν), seems perfectly satisfactory.

In (3) τοπᾶν θράσος, 'to discover assurance,' is not at all a happy phrase, while οὐ τὸ πᾶν is just what is wanted to express the misgiving constantly recurring, in spite of the king having just returned triumphant and safe: 'not having to the full hope's happy courage,' as K. translates it.

On the whole therefore I cannot agree in Mr. Verrall's proposed emendations as far as the Agamemnon is concerned. Still I am bound to say that I feel, not merely that the *a priori* probability is great that the τοπή, τοπάω, etc. would disappear from our texts in some places, but also that in some of the passages where he would restore them there is much to be said for the restoration.

### III.

Lines 1228 sqq. Mr. H. A. J. Munro (Journal of Philol. xi. 130) has discussed this passage, and rejects Madvig's emendation as too violent. He defends the accusative οἷα after τεύζεται: and in objecting to this I think I was wrong. I still feel however that the sentence as a whole is so harsh as to be very suspicious: οἷα is a long way from τεύζεται: and the other objections seem to me to hold. If οἷα is taken with λέξασα, τεύζεται is unsatisfactory: the things she 'says' and 'obtains' are different.

Mr. Munro's δοκήν for δίκην (with all respect be it spoken for so high an authority), I cannot feel to be likely. 'Lengthening out the ambush of a dark crime'—a version which puts a strain on ἀτη, —is so violent a phrase as to be hardly better than the MSS. text. It gives a construction to ἐκτείνασα, it is true: but the sense and diction is intolerably harsh.

## IV.

Line 1267. Mr. Munro (*Journal of Philol.* xi. 139) discusses this line also, and objects to Mr. Verrall's emendation that it should be *δέ* not *τε*, and that *πесόντα* goes with *ίτε* better. I do not see why, as the actions of throwing and trampling are similar in kind and in quick succession, the close conjunction *τε* is not admissible, though in form one of the verbs is imperative and the other future. The participle *πесόντα* seems to me also possible and natural: the things first fell, and then were trampled on. My translation 'as ye lie' was a little free: and I have given 'as ye fall' instead. The meaning is the simple one that one act came just after the other, and the aorist part. is surely common for the first of two such acts.

## V.

*Further Notes of Readings.*

2. δ' ἦν M. ἦν V. Fl. Fa.  
 82. ἡμερόφατον M. ἡμερόφαντον Fa.  
 97. λέξαι σ' . . . αἰνῶ Marg.  
 105. καταπνε-ει (letter erased) M. καταπνεύει B. Fa. Fl. καταπνέει Ald.  
 110. ξύμφρονε ταγῶ. D.  
 115. ἀργίας M. ἀργᾶς Blomf.  
 123. λογοδαίτας M. λαγ. Fl. Fa.  
 129. προσθετὰ M.  
 156. ἀπέκλαιξεν M. ἀπέκλαγξεν B. Fl. Fa.  
 165. τόδε MSS. τὸ Pauw.  
 190. παλιρρόθους MSS. παλιρρόχθους H. L. Ahrens.  
 206. πείθεσθαι MSS. πιθέσθαι Turn.  
 222. βροτοὺς Spanheim.  
 275. σέβοιμι Marg.  
 282. corr. Cant.  
 289. σκοποῖς Schütz; not unlikely.  
 297. παιδίον ὠποῦ M. πεδίον Ἀσωποῦ Fl. Fa.  
 304. μηχανήσασθαι Marg.  
 312. τοιοῖδ' ἔτοιμοι B. Fa. τ. ἔτυμοι Fl.  
 322. ἐκχέας MSS. ἐγχ. Cant.  
 334. ἐν MSS. ἐν δ' Pauw.  
 336. ὡς δ' εὐδαίμονες Stanl.  
 346. ἐγρήγορον MSS. corr. Porz.  
 350. σὴν ὄνησιν Marg.

## APPENDICES.

368. τοῦτο γ' Fa. τοῦτ' Fl.  
 384. μεγάλα MSS. μέγαν Cant.  
 391. προσβολαῖς Pears. προβ. MSS.  
 394. πτανὸν Fl. πτανόν τιν' Fa. ποτανὸν Schütz.  
 408. πολὺ δ' ἀνέστηνον Fl.  
 430. τηξικάρδιος Aur.  
 457. δημοκράτου MSS. δημοκράτου Pors.  
 477. εἰ δ' ἐτήτυμος Aur. [Probably right.]  
 511. ἦσθ' Askew.  
 536. αὐτόχθον' δν Klausen.  
 544. πεπληγμένοι Tyrwhitt.  
 546. φρενός μ' Scal. φρενὸς MSS.  
 557. στένοντας, ἀσχάλλοντας Marg. [Very ingenious.]  
 579. δόμων . . ἀρχαίων is Hartung's very probable emendation. [δόμων was first changed through the influence of τοῖς καθ' Ἑλλάδα misunderstood: then ἀρχαίων necessarily became ἀρχαίων.]  
 584. ἤβη Marg. [probable].  
 644. σεσαγμένον Schütz.  
 664. ναυστολοῦσ' Cas. [Unnecessary.]  
 684. προνοίας MSS. corr. Pauw.  
 701. ἤλασε MSS. ἤλασεν Pors.  
 715. διαὶ πολιτῶν Emper.  
 868. πλέω MSS. πλέον Dind.  
 876. ἀνημμένης Weckl.  
 898. στόλον Fl. στῦλον Fa.  
 931. εἶκε Marg.  
 959. ἰσάργυρον Salmasius.  
 963. δειμάτων MSS. corr. Cant.  
 965. μηχανωμένη Aur. [Perhaps right.]  
 969. μολόν H. Voss.  
 990. δμως Aur.  
 991. Ἐρινύος Pors.  
 1019. πεσὸν Aur.  
 1084. περ ἐν Schütz.  
 1117. ἀκόρετος Bothe.  
 1128. ἐν ἐνύδρῳ Schütz.  
 1146. ἀηδόνος μόρον MSS. corr. H.  
 1152. Μ. ἐπίφοβα originally.  
 1167. ὀλωμένας V. Fl. ὀλουμένας Fa. ὀλομένας Cas.  
 1174. κακοφρονῶν Schütz.  
 1198. ὄρκου πῆγμα Aur. [Perhaps right.]  
 1227. ἀπαρχος MSS. ἐπαρχος Cant.  
 1242. παιδίαν MSS. παιδείαν Schütz.



# APPENDICES.

- 1255. δυσπαθῇ MSS. δυσμαθῇ Steph.
- 1334. μηκέτι δ' εἰσέλθης MSS. corr. H.
- 1362. τείνοντες Cant.
- 1364. κράτει MSS. κρατεῖ Cas.
- 1368. θυμούσθαι first due to E. A. Ahrens.
- 1396. τῷδ' Tyrwhitt.
- 1397. τοσόνδε Blomfield. [Probable.]
- 1408. ὁρώμενον MSS. ὄρμενον Abresch.
- 1416. εὐτόκοις Fl. Fa. εὐπόκοις (corrected) V.
- 1419. χρῆν Pors.
- 1430. τύμμα τύμμα MSS. τύμματι I. Voss.
- 1471. καρδιόδηκτον Abresch.
- 1527. ἄξια Herm.
- 1531. εὐπαλάμων μεριμῶν Enger. [Possibly right.]
- 1545. ψυχῇ τ' E. A. Ahrens. [Probable.]
- 1605. ἔλιπε κάθλιψ Marg.
- 1653. αἰρούμεθα Aur.
- 1660. δαίμονας MSS. δαίμονος Cas.
- 1671. ὥσπερ MSS. ὥστε Scal.

## GENERAL INDEX.

Abstract for concrete, 109, 123.

ἄγγαρος, 282.

ἀγκαθεν, 3.

ἀγοραίος, 88.

ἀγώνιος, 513.

Accumulation of phrase, 154, 192,  
222, 960, 1015.

Adjective, rare use, 10.

— governing accusative, 103, 1091.

αἰχμά, 483.

ἄλλ' ἤ, 276.

ἀλουργός, 946.

ἄν carried on, 1048.

ἀντίφερνος, 406.

Anachronism, 1355.

Anacoluthon, 97, 100, 816.

ἄπτερος φάτις, 276.

Aposiopesis, 498, 567, 1109.

Art, works of, 241, 416, 801, 1329.

Article, as demonstrative, 7, 397.

— separated from substantive,  
1056.

— as relative, 526, 642.

Attraction, personal use, δοκῶ, 16.

— of participle, 1371.

Augment omitted, 189.

αὐτός displaced, 836.

— in compounds, of kindred murder,  
1092, 1573.

αὐτοῦ for σεαυτοῦ, 1141, 1297, 1544.

αὐτότοκος, 137.

Beauty of nature, 566.

βοή, 'call to battle, 1349.

γὰρ οὖν, 524, 674.

γε μὲν δὲ, 661, 887, 1213.

γε μὴν, 1378.

Comparison, abridged, 894.

διαυλος, 344.

Doricisms:—

τόλμα, 376.

πῶ; 1509.

in chorus, 43, 1072.

δ' οὖν, 34, 224, 676, 1042.

Double meanings, 67, 69, 345, 441,  
612, 699, 781, 857, 912.

ἐκκύκλημα, 1372.

ἐξάιρετος, 954.

ἔσκε, 723.

Epic forms and usages:—

Article omitted, 59, 313, 323,  
709, 1395.

— separated from substantive,  
1056.

— as relative, 526, 642.

— as demonstrative, 397.

Genitive of 'hearing of,' 1367.

— local, 1056.

Dative, local, 27, 558, etc.; see  
Cases.

— after verbs of motion, 357,  
363, 1450.

Subjunctive with εἰ, 1328.

Syncope, 27, 305.

Tmesis, 450, 944.

βοή, 1349.

δαμείς, 1451.

ἐπί, dative, 'against,' 61.

ἐπίστροφος, 397.

θύω, 1235.

ἴσους, i long, 122.

ἰχώρ, 1480.

κήρ, 206.

μηδέ, 'but not,' 1498.

οἶτε, 50.

ὅπως ἂν with optative, 367.

πολέα (?), 1453.

# GENERAL INDEX.

- πρό* adverbial, 253.  
*σύν* adverbial, 586, 1645.  
*ὥς* for *ὥστε*; see *ὥς*.  
 Euphemism, 1288.  
 'From' for 'on,' 116.  
 Hearth, domestic, 1056.  
*ἴνις*, 717.  
 Ionicisms:—  
     *Τυνδάρεω*, 83.  
     *ἀντήλιος*, 519.  
     *ἐπιλεχθῆς*, 1498.  
 Irony, dramatic, 67, 599, 606, 862,  
     904, 912, 1225.  
 — pathetic, 455.  
*καί* in questions, 280.  
*καὶ γὰρ οὖν*, 524.  
*καὶ μήν*, 1178.  
 — 'and yet,' 1254.  
*κυρεῖν*, 1201.  
 Lampadephoros, 312.  
 Licence of drama, 504.  
*μέν*, antithesis suppressed, 924.  
*μὲν οὖν*, 1396.  
*μέντοι*, 644, 886.  
 Metaphor, rustic, 32.  
 — grotesque, 494.  
 — rapid succession, 786, 1031,  
     1178, 1435.  
 Names, significant, 687, 1081.  
*νεῖρος*, 1478.  
*νῦν*, 'just now,' 550.  
*ὀδῖος*, 104.  
*οὐ τι μή*, with adjective, 1640.  
*οὐ μήν γε*, 1279.  
*οὖν*, 'in short,' 607.  
 — in alternatives, 359.  
*οὔτε* omitted, 532.  
 Oxymoron, 1268.  
*πνόος*, 806.  
*πράσσεισθαι*, 700.  
*πρέπω*, 241, 389, 1222.  
*πρόδουλος*, 945.  
 Personal construction, 16, 379,  
     1079.  
 Personifying instinct, 894.  
 Play on words:—  
     *ἑλένας*, 689.  
     *κῆδος*, 699.  
     *Ἀλέξανδρος*, 711 (?).  
     *Ἀπόλλων*, 1081.  
     *δυσμενεῖς*, 1193.  
 Pregnant construction, 538.  
 Preposition, adverbial, 253, 760,  
     1645.  
 Rhetorical repetition, 8.  
*βύσιον*, 534.  
 Sin only cause of woe, 751.  
 Slaves in household religion, 1037.  
*στάξ*, 1172.  
*κατὰ σύνεσιν* construction, 308,  
     562.  
*συντελής*, 632.  
 'Swallow' for foreigner, 1050.  
 Symbolic act, 1601.  
 Syncope:—  
     *ἀνδαῖω*, 305.  
     *ἐπαντείλασαν*, 27.  
*τε* marking apposition, 1526.  
*τέλος*, 'task,' 908.  
 — 'decision,' 934.  
*τίνω*, double meaning, 1324.  
*τις, εἴ τις* *Ἀπόλλων*, 55.  
*τί*, put for clause, 935.  
 Tmesis, 450, 944.  
 Transferred epithet, 237, 920.  
*φιλήτωρ*, 1446.  
*ὥς* for *ἐξ οὗ*, 1212.  
 — — *ὥστε*, 358, 546, 575, 665,  
     1381.  
*ὥς δὲ*, 1633.  
*ὥστε* for *ὥς*, 884.

## GRAMMATICAL INDEX.

### *a. CASES AND PREPOSITIONS.*

#### *Nominative :—*

*Pendens*, 1008.

Strange apposition *ἅλαι*, 195.

After accusative in comparison,  
1392.

#### *Accusative :—*

Apposition to clause, 49, 225,  
1310.

— loose, 643.

Duration, 1.

Internal, 1375.

— cognate, 1, 174, 1111, 1483,  
1494.

Adverbial, 280.

Absolute, 1620.

After adjective, 103, 1091.

— verbs of sitting, 184, 664, 834.

— *στερηθείς*, 1531.

*πρὸς κόρον*, 381.

*πρὸς τὸ βίαιον*, 130.

#### *Genitive :—*

Comprehensive, 278.

Description, 43.

Local, 1056.

Partitive, 961.

Relation, with 'feeling,' 50.

— — *ὑπατος*, 51.

— — *εὖ*, 379.

— — *κεκομμένος*, 479.

— — *οὕτω*, 950.

After *κάτοπτος*, 307.

— negative adjective, 311.

— verb of 'hearing about,' 1367.

— *πάτις*, 630.

Separation, *λελειμμένος*, 517.

*ἐκ*, 'after,' 330.

#### *Dative :—*

Ethical, 312, 496.

Instrumental, 521.

Local, 27, 558, 578, 718.

Manner, 521.

Respect, 233.

Time, 521.

With and without preposition,  
656.

After passive, 371, 801.

*ἐκώσας*, 915.

*ἐπί* (motion), 357, 363.

*ἐν* (motion), 1450.

### *b. MOODS AND TENSES.*

#### *Indicative :—*

Present prophetic, 126.

Imperfect (attempt), 593.

Perfect, *βέβηκε*, 36.

Future perfect active, 1279.

Aorist gnomic, 717, 966, 1006,  
1329.

— momentary, 1243.

#### *Imperative :—*

Aorist with *μή*, 931.

#### *Subjunctive :—*

Misgiving, 341.

With *εἰ*, 1328.

#### *Optative :—*

Assimilated, 253, 319.

Generalising, 1042.

Double conditional, 930.

Final with *ὅπως ᾗ*, 364.

Indefinite, 372.

'Potential,' 552.

# GRAMMATICAL INDEX.

## *Optative :—*

- Pure optative, 606.
- Remote deliberative, 620.
- With *ἄν* carried on, 1048.
- mild order, 1049, 1394.

## *Infinitive :—*

- Consecutive, 15, 481, 569.
- epexegetic, 217, 307, 621, 640, 956, 961, 1263.

After *θάρος*, 980.

- Accusative infinitive, oblique petition, 27.
- exclamatory, 1662.
- after *παρεσκευασμένος*, 1421.

## *Participle :—*

- Attraction, 1371.
- Causal, 912.
- Conditional, 964.
- Genitive absolute, harsh, 1298.

# INDEX OF NAMES.

Aigiplanktos, 303.

Alexandros, 61.

Apia, 256.

Arachnaïos, 309.

Argos, 1.

Artemis, 135.

Asklepios, 1022.

Asopos, 297.

Athos, 285.

Aulis, 191.

Chalkis, 190.

Chryseis, 1439.

Euripos, 292.

Geryon, 871.

Gorgopis, 302.

Helenos, 409.

Hermaïos, 283.

Ida, 281.

Ieios, 146.

Iphigeneia, 151.

Itys, 1145.

Kalchas, 122.

Kithairon, 298.

Kronos, 170.

Leda, 914.

Makistos, 289.

Menelaos, 42.

Messapios, 293.

Mykenae, 1.

Orestes, 880.

Orion, 967.

Ouranos, 170.

Paian, 146.

Philomela, 1145.

Pleisthenes, 1569.

Prokne, 1145.

Pylades, 880.

Saronic gulf, 306.

Seirios, 967.

Simoeis, 695.

Strophios, 880.

Strymon, 192.

Tereus, 1145.

Thyestes, 1096.

Timanthes, 241.

Tyndareus, 83.

1 5

